

ANATOLIAN STUDIES

Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara

VOL. X

1960

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Published annually by
THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT ANKARA
16 Bryanston Street, London, W.1

Price £1 12s. 6d.

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

The titles of books and periodicals should be written in italics (in typing, *underlined*), the titles of articles in periodicals in Roman letters between quotation marks.

REFERENCES : The volume and date of a periodical and the publication date of a book should both be cited in the first reference to it. The number of a volume in a series should be written in capital Roman numerals.

TRANSCRIPTION : *Modern Turkish* place and personal names should always be written in the current Turkish orthography. In typing, the dotless *i* should be represented by *I* in the body of a word.

GREEK NAMES which have become established in English usage should be given in the familiar English form (e.g., Ptolemy). Greek proper names which have recognized Latin transliterations should be given in the latter form (e.g. Bœotia, not Boiotia). Otherwise the Greek form should be used in referring to the Greek period of occupation of places which were later Romanized (e.g. Taras ; later Tarentum).

ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

| at the beginning of word omit ; hamza elsewhere

ب	<i>b</i>	س	<i>s</i>	ق	<i>q</i>
ت	<i>t</i>	ش	<i>sh</i>	ك	<i>k</i>
ث	<i>th</i>	ص	<i>s</i>	ل	<i>l</i>
ج	<i>j</i>	ض	<i>dh</i>	م	<i>m</i>
ح	<i>h</i>	ط	<i>t</i>	ن	<i>n</i>
خ	<i>kh</i>	ظ	<i>z</i>	و	<i>w</i> or <i>v</i>
د	<i>d</i>	ع	<i>‘</i>	ه	<i>h</i>
ذ	<i>dh</i>	غ	<i>gh</i>	ة	<i>t</i> or
ر	<i>r</i>	ف	<i>f</i>	ي	<i>y</i>
ز	<i>z</i>				

vowels *a*, *i*, *u*

lengthened *ā*, *ī*, *ū*

diphthongs *ay* and *aw* or *ai* and *au* respectively.

ILLUSTRATIONS : All line drawings, including maps, will appear as "Figures," numbered consecutively in Arabic numerals throughout each article. Photographs reproduced as halftones or collotypes will appear as "Plates," numbered in capital Roman numerals.

Authors receive 25 off-prints of their articles. Additional copies may be ordered when the page proofs are returned at rates to be settled with the printers.

ANATOLIAN STUDIES

Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara

1960

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being prepared and will be issued with
Vol. XI.

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BRITISH INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT ANKARA

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT AND OF THE DIRECTOR FOR 1959

The past year has been notable for the various archaeological work carried out by the Director and others in many regions of Turkey, reports on which will be found on pages 5 to 10.

The Council records with sorrow the loss of one of the first Vice-Presidents, Mr. Harold Bowen, who represented the Royal Asiatic Society from the Institute's earliest days and who was a most active member of the Council until his death in June. Especially during the negotiations for establishing the Institute, his help was invaluable.

The Chairman's illness last summer gave rise to widespread expressions of sympathy; we are happy to report that he has now recovered and is ready to resume his leadership of the Council.

The Council is glad to report that the London office has now been moved to more suitable premises in Bryanston Street, where committee meetings can be held and where storage space has been found for the increasing stock of publications.

COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT :

The Council received with regret the resignation of Dr. G. Caton-Thompson. The Royal Anthropological Institute, which she represented, has now nominated Professor W. F. Grimes to take her place.

The Royal Asiatic Society has nominated Sir Gerard Clauson, K.C.M.G., as its representative in the place of the late Mr. Harold Bowen. Both these nominations have been received with pleasure by the Council.

The resignation of Mr. W. C. Brice who had been an Elected Member of Council for eight years, has been received with regret.

LECTURES :

Two lectures were held in 1959 at the Society of Antiquaries to whom the Council is again greatly indebted for the use of its rooms. The lectures were :

Specimens of Turkish Traditional Songs and Music, by Mr. C. S. Mundy, on the 30th January, 1959.

Changing Aspects of Anatolian Archaeology : Completion of Ten Years' Field-Work, by Mr. Seton Lloyd, on the 27th February, 1959.

PUBLICATIONS :

Occasional Publication No. 5, *The Geography of the Hittite Empire*, by the late Professor J. Garstang and Dr. O. R. Gurney, appeared in April, and has met with much success. It is hoped to reprint the book early in 1960. An Index has now been added to *A Classical Map of Asia Minor*, which will add greatly to its usefulness. All who have bought the Map can apply for an Index which will be supplied free of charge.

Anatolian Studies and the books in the Occasional Publications series are in increasing demand.

LIBRARY :

There have been important additions to the Library during the past year, including many classical texts ; the number of accessions total over eighty books. The Council acknowledges with grateful thanks the following presentations of books and offprints :

From the Authors :

Professor D. Talbot Rice, *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report* (Edinburgh, 1958).
Sir Leonard Woolley, *A forgotten Kingdom*, 2nd edition (London, 1959).

From The Hon. Sir Steven Runciman :

Spuler, Bertold, *Die Mongolen in Iran* (Berlin, 1955).
Barthold, W., *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 2nd edition (London, 1958).

From Mr. D. B. Stronach :

Mallowan, Prof. M. E. L., *Twenty-five years of Mesopotamian Discovery* (London, 1956).

From the Türk Tarih Kurumu :

Turan, Osman, *Türkiye Selcukluları Hakkında Resmi Vesikalar* (Ankara, 1958).
Özgüç, T., and Akok, M., *Horoztepe* (Ankara, 1958).
Esin, Emil, *Türkistan Seyahatnamesi* (Ankara, 1959).

Offprints of articles have been received from the following authors :

Profs. D. S. Rice, T. Özgüç, N. P. Lehmann, J. M. Cook ; Drs. R. Amiran, F. Steinherr, J. B. Segal, G. M. A. Hanfmann ; and Messrs. C. A. Burney, J. Ward Perkins, Ph. Petsas, and Miss D. Hereward.

ANKARA : THE YEAR'S WORK :

In Ankara the Institute has this year reached its maximum scale of activity to date, with more than thirty registered students or senior members working in various parts of Turkey and as many as five archaeological expeditions operating under its auspices. Almost all the British and Dominion scholars concerned have visited or been accommodated in the Institute during the course of their work and many visitors of other nationalities have been welcomed.

Owing to minor political complications, which hampered our advanced planning of the season's programme, the excavations actually subsidised by the Institute had to be postponed until the late summer and autumn. A third sounding at the pre-historic site called Hacilar, near Burdur, was undertaken by the *Assistant-Director* in August/September and our equipment was then transferred to Çivril, where a sixth season of excavations at Beycesultan was conducted by the *Director*. At both sites extremely profitable results were obtained and are reported elsewhere in these pages. *Professor D. S. Rice's* Harran Expedition passed through Ankara in early July and returned two months later, after an intensive and successful season of excavating in the ruins of the famous frontier city. *Mr. and Mrs. Michael Gough*, with a staff of five archaeologists, arrived in mid-July to renew their explorations in Cilicia Aspera, which this year included the clearance of a fourth-century church near Dağpazarı and the recovery from its ruins of some unique relics. At Trebizond meanwhile, *Messrs. David Winfield and Michael Smith* representing the Russell Trust, worked throughout the summer and autumn on the restoration of frescoes in the church of S. Sophia. All these enterprises can now be reported in greater detail.

The activities of individual members, registered as students during the past session, may be summarised as follows :

Dr. O. R. Gurney. Three months' work on the Sultantepe tablets in the Ankara Museum (accompanied by *Mrs. Gurney*).

Mr. V. L. Ménage (S.O.A.S., University of London), Ottoman manuscripts in Istanbul Museums, etc.

Dr. J. B. Segal (S.O.A.S., University of London). Recording mosaics and other antiquities in the environs of Urfa (Edessa).

Mr. A. E. North assisted *Dr. Segal* as architect and surveyor at Urfa.

Professor J. M. Cook (University of Bristol). Reconnaissance of classical sites in the Troad area and a sounding near Marmaris, in company with *Professor George Bean* (Institute Correspondent in Istanbul).

Mr. R. W. Hamilton (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). Took part in the Harran Expedition.

Professor and Mrs. D. Talbot Rice (University of Edinburgh). Spent May/June studying Byzantine and Seljuk monuments.

Dr. Veronica Seton-Williams (Institute of Archaeology, London) accompanied by *Mrs. E. Coult*. Neolithic sites in the Konya Plain and elsewhere.

Mr. Charles Burney (University of Manchester, sometime Institute Fellow). Bronze and Iron Age sites in the eastern provinces.

Mr. David Stronach (sometime Institute Scholar), Bronze and Iron Age metallurgy. Took part in Hacilar Expedition.

Mr. David Wilson (Institute Fellow, 1959/60). Classical sites and inscriptions in the Pontic area.

Mr. Martin Harrison (Institute Scholar, 1958-59). Byzantine remains in the province of Lycia. With *Mrs. Harrison* took part in excavations at Dağpazarı and Beycesultan.

Mr. David French (Institute Scholar, 1959-60). Bronze Age and Chalcolithic archaeology of the Aegean river-valleys. Took part in excavations at Hacilar. Accompanied for part of the time by *Mrs. French*.

Mrs. Judy Birmingham (Institute Scholar, 1959-60). Iron Age archaeology of Anatolia and its Aegean connections.

Dr. Elisabeth Rosenbaum (Warburg Institute). Roman portraits in Turkish Museums.

Miss Clare Goff (University of Edinburgh). Took part in excavations at Hacilar and Beycesultan.

Mr. Harry Smith (Christ's College, Cambridge). Took part in excavations at Beycesultan.

Miss Carol Cruikshank (University of St. Andrews). Took part in excavations at Beycesultan.

Mr. Michael Brett (Architectural Association). Served as architect to the Beycesultan excavations.

Mr. D. E. Strong. Served as architect to the Harran Expedition.

Mr. T. T. Inglis. Served as architect to the Harran Expedition.

Mr. B. H. Pinder-Wilson (British Museum). Took part in the Harran Expedition.

Mr. R. I. L. Guthrie. Took part in the Dağpazarı excavations.

Guests of the Institute for short periods included *Professor and Mrs. R. Braidwood*, *Professor and Mrs. R. M. Cook*, *Professor and Mrs. L. Palmer*, *Mr. and Mrs. P. Hulin*, *Mr. K. M. Guichard*, *Mr. G. Faudree* of New College, Oxford, *Professor R. A. Crossland*, *Mr. N. Jensen*, and others.

The First International Congress of Turkish Arts took place at Ankara University in October during the Director's absence at Beycesultan. Professor D. S. Rice accompanied by Mrs. Rice re-visited Ankara for the occasion as guests of the organisers and took part in the Congress.

Some notable improvements have been made to the Ankara premises during the course of the 1959 session. A permanent water-supply has been insured by the installation of tanks, and the hostel has been partially re-equipped.

EXCAVATIONS :

Beycesultan :

The sixth season of excavations at Beycesultan lasted rather more than six weeks, from 15th September until 28th October, when a five-day national feast intervened, coinciding with a change in the weather which would in any case have made further work impracticable. The expedition staff consisted of the *Director* and *Mrs. Seton Lloyd*, *Mr. Martin Harrison* (Institute Scholar for 1958-59) and *Mrs. Harrison*, *Mr. Harry Smith* of Christ's College, Cambridge, *Miss Carol Cruikshank*, *Mr. Michael Brett* as Architect and *Bay Osman Aksoy* as Turkish Government Representative. The *Assistant Director* and *Miss Clare Goff* also joined the party for the second half of the season.

We acknowledge with grateful thanks the following donations for excavations at Beyce, 1959 :—

The Russell Trust, per Major David Russell	£500
H.E. Necdet H. Kent	TL. 112

Hacilar :

The third season at Hacilar lasted from 10th August until 11th September. The *Assistant Director* was in charge, ably assisted by *Mrs. Mellaart*, *Miss Clare Goff* (surveyor), *Mr. David Stronach* (field assistant and photographer) and *Mr. David French* (pottery expert). *Bay Osman Aksoy* again represented the Turkish Department of Antiquities. As in previous years we were shown much courtesy and assistance by the local authorities in Burdur and the Vali, Bay Turhan Kapanlı, once more with great generosity took upon himself the task of filling in the excavation by bulldozer.

The following donations towards the excavating expenses at Hacilar, 1959, are gratefully acknowledged :—

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford	£100
University of Manchester, per Mr. C. A. Burney	£50

Reports on the season's work at Beycesultan and Hacilar are published elsewhere in this volume.

Isauria and Cilicia, 1959 :

Work carried out between July and September, 1959, has proved most successful, and the excavation of the small church at Dağ Pazari (noticed under para. C of last year's Annual Report) may be said to have made a useful contribution to the

Early Christian Archaeology of Southern Asia Minor. The expedition, which was again under the leadership of Mr. Michael Gough, was on a larger scale than in previous years, and was based again on the village school.

The church, built on a ledge overlooking the Kavak Gözü and dominated by a steep hill to the north, was found to be in an excellent state of preservation. This was due to the exceptional circumstance whereby a fire which had swept through the north aisle was followed almost immediately afterwards by a land-slide from the hill above it. The depth of earth and rubble varied over the whole length of the church from slightly more than 3 m. on the north to a few centimetres on the south, where villagers had already robbed away the whole outer wall and some of the paving slabs of the south aisle.

Excavation of the apse revealed three main periods of construction, represented by two superimposed mosaic floors and, finally, by a thick layer of limestone chips covered by slabs. Of the first mosaic only a small fragment remained, apparently deliberately preserved below the altar. This was an inscription with its border of guilloche, in which Papias the priest and Papias the deacon recorded their gift of the mosaic and the paintings of the church. Immediately above, with the width of a penknife blade between, was the second mosaic, decorated with purely geometric motives. The border was a scale pattern with central red florets, while the rest of the field consisted of interlinking roundels. On either side of the altar was an inscription, recording the fulfilment of a vow, that on the northern side being carried out by "a man of whom only God knows the name".

The whole of the altar base, with sinkings at the corners to take wooden (?) supports, was found *in situ*, while lying above it was the marble altar top, laid polished surface downwards, as if the priests had been anxious to prevent its desecration, and so exposed its less attractive, unworked side to possible looters. In the centre of the base, and set flush into it, was a white circular slab of marble. This was lifted to reveal a small rectangular recess, in which an oval silver reliquary and a small (broken) glass vessel were still *in situ*. The shape of the reliquary is almost identical with that of the 5th century example from Numidia in the Vatican Museum.

The *bema* mosaic (described in last year's Annual Report, *loc. cit.*) was apparently of the second period, and was separated from the main aisle of the church by a low wall on which stood four small columns. A pair of shallow steps led from the *bema* to the *ambo*, of which the moulded base was found *in situ*, projecting into the nave slightly to the north of centre.

The main body of the church, nave and aisles was paved; but the narthex still showed traces of its mosaic, a simple scheme of interlinking crosses in red, yellow, white and black.

As a result of its sudden collapse under the weight of earth from the hillside, the church had lost none of the columns and capitals from the northern stylobate, and many of these could be re-erected. They were rather stubby, with a coating of stucco.

Associated with this church is a 5th century bronze thurible, a unique object once in the hands of the Kaymakam of Mut and now in the Adana Museum. It was originally found by villagers digging at the southern edge of the site, and is in perfect condition. The hexagonal bowl is suspended from three chains, which join a single longer chain attached to a large cross. The sides of the bowl are decorated with figures in relief of Christ, two angels and three saints.

For the rest, the expedition undertook the excavation of a large basilica at Karlik in the Cilician Plain, at the request of the Department of Museums and Antiquities, and carried out extensive journeys of reconnaissance in Cilicia Trachea. In the course of these surveys, it is thought that the site of Irenopolis may have been discovered in the vicinity of Imamoglu; in addition a large number of early churches were recorded in the hinterland between Lamos and Erdemli, as well as in the neighbourhood of Ura and Uzuncaburç.

Harran :

The party consisted of D. S. Rice, R. W. Hamilton, R. H. Pinder-Wilson, D. E. Strong, T. E. Inglis (architect), and two *komiserler*, Sabahat Arad (Gaziantep Museum) and Halil Gültekin (Urfa Museum Depot).

Actual digging lasted from 15th July to 1st September, 1959.

1. *The great Mosque.* The plan has been completely established for this monument, which measures 100×100 m. Thirteen deep trenches were dug to probe into the structural history of the building which for the most part can now be called Ayyubid. The latest phase is that given by a dated capital, A.D. 1174 (A.H. 570).

All the elements of the *décor* of the elaborate court façade have been recovered and we can now write an almost "complete" grammar of Ayyubid ornament. Under the great central arch a nearly complete engaged column with vine leaf-scroll was recovered. It gives us a complete palaeochristian column, probably Vth century. On top in a wreath: a cross which has been chiselled away by the Muslim builders and also parts of a *XP* monogram. This solves the problem posed by the fragmentary column in three parts discovered in 1952 which made us attribute it once to the 5th and again to the 7th-8th century.

After the 1956 season the villagers dug out one of the wells in the courtyards. Among the débris they had unearthed there was a broken altar with the moon symbol on top. This, some broken decorative columns from the façade and a selection of pottery were retrieved and sent to the Urfa Museum.

A representative selection of ornamented voussoirs, corbels, brackets, etc. was also sent to the Museum.

A road leading up to the mosque on the north side was cleared revealing rows of shops on either side, with platforms in front and a lower street for pack-animals. At some distance north of the mosque a road-junction was cleared revealing parts of three fallen arches arranged round a small square. They were covered with monumental kufic inscriptions which cannot be later than the early 11th century A.D.

2. *A statue of a warrior* complete with portrait-head which is provisionally dated late 2nd early 3rd century A.D. (in a provincial style known to us from the sculptures and mosaics at Urfa and Soğmatar but never before available in such good state of preservation) was recovered from the city wall where it had been used, probably in Islamic times, as a building stone.

3. *Cuneiform* fragments on stone were not large but at least one of these is of great significance. Dr. Saggs has deciphered it thus: "As to É.Húl.Húl, the temple of Sin [king of light] of heaven and earth, my lord, I verily made it great". There can be no doubt that we are at Harrānu and not far from the great temple.

4. *The deep sounding.* A trench 6×15 m. was dug three-quarters of the way up the 28 m. mound to the south side of the mosque. We took this by steps down to a depth of 14 m. As a result we obtained good stratified medieval material and are now able to distinguish between early and late Raqqa wares. After the removal of the dwellings in this level, which consisted of a number of private houses, each with its courtyard and private well (some 25 m. deep) which we were able to use for the disposal of the earth, we almost immediately moved into a level which contained painted Iron-Age pottery. There were no buildings of any sort except a platform of unbaked bricks (very distinctly visible in the section) until we came to a level where the painted pottery gradually disappeared to make place for very fine, hard grey wares of various shapes and nearly all of it rilled. It was recognised as a ware belonging to Middle Bronze I with good parallels at Tarsus and elsewhere.

The explanation why we had no proper settlement between the medieval and the Bronze Age one (which had stone walls supplemented by walls made of unbaked bricks and whole pots used as building material) requires explanation.

Trebizond :

Mr. David Winfield summarises the season's work as follows :

Saint Sophia, Trebizond, 1959. The Russell Trust Expedition continued its work on the uncovering and preservation of the Byzantine paintings in Saint Sophia, Trebizond, and Mr. Winfield and Mr. Smith spent some twenty-seven weeks from 21st April to 31st October at work. The 1958 season was spent on the work of cleaning the paintings and this year's work was therefore primarily concerned with the preservation of what had already been cleared. There was some cleaning left in wall areas of the Ascension scene which takes up the vault of the bema, and when this had been finished early in the season the preservation work necessary in the bema and main apse was completed, so that by the end of the season it was possible to remove the scaffolding and have the series of paintings in this area open to view.

In addition some smaller scaffolds were erected in the north-east and south-east chapels where there were paintings in the vaults only, and work on these was completed. Scaffolding was also erected in three of the corner bays of the naos where work will continue next year. The expedition was grateful for some financial assistance from the Turkish Department of Antiquities who paid for new frames and glass for the windows of the church and for re-tiling sections of the roof.

BALANCE SHEET, 31ST MARCH, 1959[illegible]

Note :—
The account of receipts and payments in Turkey has been audited by a firm of Chartered Accountants in Ankara and has been incorporated in these Accounts.

Report to the Members of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Institute and proper returns adequate for the purposes of our audit have been received from Ankara. We have examined the above Balance Sheet and annexed Income and Expenditure Account which are in agreement with the books of account and returns. In our opinion the information and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given us the said accounts give the information required by the Companies Act, 1948, in the manner so required and the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Institute's affairs as at 31st March, 1959, and the Income and Expenditure Account gives a true and fair view of the excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ended on that date.

Provincial House,

Provincial House,
q8-106, Cannon Street, London, E.C. 4.

24th September, 1959.

(Signed) MORRISH, WALTERS & CO.
Chartered Accountants.

EXCAVATION FUND ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR TO 31ST MARCH, 1959

1958 £		£	s.	d.	1958 £		£	s.	d.
169	To Excavation Expenses in London		259	10 6	—	By Donation—Russell Trust			500 0 0
—	„ Grant to Student		100	0 0	2,124	„ Transfer from Income and Expenditure Account			1,000 0 0
2,969	„ Amount Remitted to The Director in Turkey and expended by him on Excavation Expenses	1,656	0	2	2,295	„ Balance, brought forward from previous year			1,281 6 0
1,281	„ Balance of Fund, carried to Balance Sheet	765	15	4					
4,419		£2,781	6	0	4,419				£2,781 6 0

PUBLICATIONS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR TO 31ST MARCH, 1959

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
1,019	To Stock of Publications at 31st March, 1958		764	0 0	390	By Sales : London		479	16 7
1,007	„ Purchases	2,199	13	7	13	„ Ankara		102	5 11
					764	„ Stock of Publications at 31st March, 1959		1,519	8 8
					859	„ Balance, transferred to Income and Expenditure Account		862	2 5
2,026		£2,963	13	7	2,026				£2,963 13 7

ANNUAL REPORT

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SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED DURING THE YEAR ENDING 31st MARCH, 1959.

	£	s.	d.
University of Arkansas	1	10	0
Birmingham	15	0	0
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Göteborg	1	10	0
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Liverpool	25	0	0
London	50	0	0
Louvain	1	10	0
Manchester, Victoria	5	0	0
New Mexico	1	10	0
New York	1	10	0
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Pennsylvania	6	0	0
Princeton	3	0	0
Reading	5	5	0
Sheffield	10	10	0
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Toronto	1	10	0
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Ballance, Mrs. S.	1	10	0	*Jarvis, C. E.	1	1	0
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*Brock, J. K.	1	10	0	Levick, Miss B.	1	10	0
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SUMMARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN TURKEY IN 1959

*GORDION*¹

WORK AT GORDION in 1959 included the opening of one more large Phrygian tumulus and further clearing of the burned city of the 8th century.

The tumulus (W), which lies about half a mile to the east of the Royal Tomb opened in 1957, is the second in size in that part of the cemetery, with a height of about 22 m. and a base diameter of about 150 m. The tomb beneath it lay slightly to the south-west of centre. Its position had been marked for purposes of centring during the piling of the mound by a wooden mast set up over the centre of the roof. The hole left in the hard clay of the tumulus by the disintegration of the wooden mast could be traced for a distance of 9 m. The flat roof of the wooden tomb had collapsed under the weight of the stones and clay piled over it, so that the contents of the chamber were crushed and scattered. The fragmentary skeleton of an adult lay at the centre on the floor, the head toward the west. It had been dressed in a linen garment fastened by bronze fibulae and girded by a leather belt decorated with bronze studs set to make patterns. At each end of the tomb stood a row of coarse pottery vessels which had probably contained food and drink for the dead. The more important offerings were at the south-east corner: two bronze bowls with bucket handles fastened to bird-protome attachments, and two small cauldrons each with two bull-head attachments carrying ring handles. These larger bronze vessels had been badly crushed and broken by the collapse of the tomb roof, but smaller vessels of bronze and pottery which had been packed inside the cauldrons were mostly unbroken and in good condition. The three pottery vessels were all sieve-spouted jugs with side handle, one of common polished ware, the other two painted. One of the two painted jugs, which has a very long spout, is covered overall with geometric patterns; it finds close parallels among the painted vases of Koerte Tumulus III. The other, a tall jug with open round mouth and a small pouring spout at the rim, is decorated with geometric designs in black and red. The nineteen bronze vessels include plain and omphalos bowls, two bowls with relief decoration, two ladles, a round-mouthed stemmed jug with one handle and a sieve-spouted jug with side handle decorated at the top by rotelles. Scattered through the grave were thirty-two bronze fibulae, all of types known from the Royal Tomb and Koerte III. The remains of a wooden screen similar to those found in previous years lay on the floor. This time, however, the decoration was not of wood inlay but of cut-out openwork embellished by round-headed bronze studs set in patterns on the surface. Close parallels to objects found in the tombs dug in 1956 and 1957 as well as in Koerte Tumulus III place the date for the new tomb again toward the end of the 8th century B.C.

The destruction layers in the burned Phrygian city for the first time yielded many fragments of objects of all sorts—bronzes, pottery vessels, wooden furniture—closely similar to those found in the tombs, thus co-ordinating a chronology which had been tentative, and confirming the attribution of the widespread destruction to the Kimmerian raid which took place at the opening of the 7th century. Fragmentary bronze ladles and omphalos bowls were of exactly the same types as

¹ Report kindly contributed by Professor Rodney Young.

better-preserved examples found in Tumulus P and W, the Royal Tomb and Koerte III. A bird-shaped askos with overall painted checkerboard decoration was a twin of one found in the child's tomb, Tumulus P. The furniture, of wood, was found in fragmentary and completely carbonised condition, but enough remained to show that there had been a screen of open-work like the ones found in Tumulus P and W; fragments of inlay cut in chevrons, triangles and zigzags recalled the inlaid screens of Tumulus P and the Royal Tomb. New was a wooden panel (now charcoal) decorated on one face with carving in low relief showing a procession of long-horned bulls led by a horseman carrying perhaps a flail; the processional zone was bordered above and below by elaborate geometric patterns in relief. Some of the furniture had been ornamented by small square plaques of ivory, inlaid. Three of these plaques, which measure 5 cm. on a side, were recovered almost complete. The relief carving on their faces is Phrygian in style; these plaques were probably carved locally and are the first representatives of a Phrygian school of ivory carving. The three well-preserved plaques show a deer with back-turned head, a mounted warrior, helmeted and carrying shield and spear and a griffin with a fish in its mouth.

The best of these objects together with huge quantities of pottery vessels, many of them painted, were found in a large building just to the west of the two "megara" cleared in 1956 and 1957. The length of the building ("Megaron 3") was about 30.50 m. and its width nearly 18 m.; in plan it consisted of a shallow outer room and an inner room measuring 18.85 by 15.05 m. A round hearth of plaster lay at the centre of the outer room. Two rows of wooden posts (four in each row in the inner room and one in the outer) divided the area into central nave and side aisles and helped to support the roof by lessening the span. In the inner room posts set at intervals against the wall faces on three sides would seem to have served to carry a wooden gallery which extended from the side walls to the central nave at each side of the room and across its inner end—a depth of about 3.50 m. We should thus probably restore a room with galleries around three sides and perhaps a clerestory.

This plan seems to have been a common one at Gordion. On a terrace to the south of Megaron 3 three rooms were cleared of another large building, perhaps a storehouse. The rooms, identical in size (about 13.40 by 11.50 m.) lie in a row along the north side of the building, separated by unbroken party walls. Each opened through a wide doorway into a smaller anteroom at the south; and in each two rows of four posts had divided the area into nave and side aisles, while a single post midway at the inner end again suggested a wooden gallery running around three sides. In two of the rooms round stucco hearths near centre suggested a clerestory and perhaps an opening in the roof above, while in all three huge quantities of pottery stacked and fallen along the walls suggested a collapse of galleries in which things had been stored. This terrace building must have been very extensive; it is known that two more rooms lay to the east of the ones cleared, and at least one more to the west, while at the south the anterooms must have opened to a connecting corridor or perhaps a court.

The size of the inner room of Megaron 3 together with the richness of its furnishings suggests that the building may have been the palace, or part of it. The building on the terrace may have belonged to the same complex—state apartments on a lower level at the north, domestic offices and store-rooms on a terrace to the south. The whole seems to have been surrounded by a temenos or enclosure wall which set it apart from the rest of the town.

*BOĞAZKÖY*¹

The excavations of the German Archaeological Institute and the German Orient Society at Boğazköy-Hattuša were continued from the 22nd July to the 14th October, 1959, with the primary object of concluding the work on Büyükkale.

Post-Hittite occupation on Büyükkale can be divided into two phases, the Hellenistic-Roman, and an earlier which, for lack of a better term, is called "Phrygian". The later levels are much disturbed by erosion and by modern cultivation; but it proved possible to clarify the layout of the fortifications—in Roman times a simple wall with a gate in square v/6, covering the easily assailable slope on the south and part of that on the west, in the Phrygian period a complete wall with towers, two gateways, and four rebuilding phases, enclosing the whole citadel. Inside the citadel eight building levels were distinguished, of which the two latest were shown by coins to belong roughly to the period from Hadrian to Gallienus. Intensive Phrygian occupation began, to judge from the pottery, hardly before the 8th century B.C. Its lower limit is uncertain, but it seems probable that it lasted till the Hellenistic epoch and the invasion of the Galatians (278/7 B.C.).

The plan of the Hittite citadel was completed at three points.

In the extreme north the clearance of Buildings E and F was concluded. Building E, first breached in 1907, when an archive of tablets was found there, can be regarded as a dwelling-house. It had a broad entrance-chamber and a large central hall, surrounded by smaller rooms. Staircases proved that it had two storeys, the entrance being on a level with the upper storey, where the ground rose towards the centre of the citadel. Building F was found to measure 30 by 35 m. and resembled Building D in its method of construction. Its nucleus consisted of five long magazine-like rooms, with an L-shaped corridor running round the north-west and south-west sides, and several smaller rooms adjoining on the south-east and south-west. Nothing similar is known in ancient Anatolian architecture. It is possible, however, that the nucleus of the building may be merely the substructure of a pillared hall (on the analogy of Building D).

In the south-east of the citadel the excavation of Building K was completed. This building, which measured 22.5 by 27.5 m., was constructed on the lip of the precipice; parts of it had fallen away at the time of the destruction of Hattusa, c. 1200 B.C., and its state of preservation was seriously affected by post-Hittite building activity (it lay immediately under the Phrygian gate where the group of statuary was found in 1957). It had a row of six small rooms, apparently opening, through a row of pillars, towards the centre of the citadel, and a similar range of rooms on the north-east side. Inside were two rooms, one of which contained "Archive K", found in 1957. The rest of the building is lost.

The south-west front of Building K interrupts the fortification wall on the southern slope of the citadel. It now appears that the wall originally ran straight across to the terrace wall in square u/4-5. The south-eastern angle, with its bastion, was built together with Building K, continuing the line of its outer wall. Traces were found of a wall leading from the south-east front of Building K towards the south-east bastion. This may have formed a second way of approach to the citadel in Hittite times, a forerunner of the Phrygian approach-way leading to the eastern gate.

To the south-west of the central plateau the outer courtyard was found to have been bounded on its south-eastern and south-western sides by a colonnade

¹ Translated from information kindly contributed by Dr. Thomas Beran.

(continuing the line of the inner wall of Building G), a remarkable example of the deliberate planning of an open space. Approaching the citadel by way of the steep path from the main gate, one would thus step through this colonnade into the outer court, on to which faced Buildings G and H and part of the west front of Building A. In the north-east corner there was a gate-house, presumably with steps, leading to the inner court, on to which opened the main front of the archive-building A and that of the throne-room D.

Deep excavations in the south-western and south-eastern sectors resulted in a considerable refinement and extension of our knowledge of the Old Hittite and pre-Hittite periods on Büyükkale.

In the south-west a large building of Level IVb was excavated, adjoining that excavated in 1952 (*MDOG.* 86, 12-13, plan 2). It consisted mainly of a long, rectangular room, built of ashlar blocks, carefully laid, and drained by a water channel. This cellar-like room has a distinct resemblance to Building C of the Empire period.

Belonging to the level preceding IVb was a building of monumental dimensions with walls 2 m. thick, consisting of remarkably large, undressed stones. Both for this building and for Level IVb the whole terrain had been prepared by levelling and filling, so that within these buildings earlier strata could not be distinguished. South-east of the building with large stones, however, the ground had not been claimed for building, so that here it was possible to observe the earlier levels. In the uppermost were the remains of a house with ashlar foundations and brick walls, the latter covered with a thick mud plaster and finished with a white lime wash. The level under this brick house had come to a violent end by fire, producing a layer of burning probably to be synchronised with that of IVc, previously observed in the vicinity of Building G. Three levels below this, in a level also destroyed by fire, was another monumental building with walls standing up to 2 m. It contained two parallel, rectangular rooms measuring about 8 by 3.5 m., with other smaller rooms on the west and north sides. The foundations were of partly dressed, partly natural stones, the superstructure consisted of a framework of wood filled with a jumble of stones, bricks and mortar poured in between the beams, the whole covered with a thick mud plaster. Only the partition walls between the small rooms consisted partly of pure brickwork. Fragments of the ceiling, with roof-beams and the floor of the upper storey, were recovered. Soundings down to virgin rock revealed that at least here in the south-west of the citadel this building had no predecessor. It was also revealed that after the destruction of the building there was a gap in occupation, during which the debris of burning was washed far and wide over the surrounding country and especially down the precipice.

The building had been thoroughly looted, so that nothing but potsherds could be found in it. The pottery shows that the building had lasted a considerable time. Hand-made pottery of the late E.B. period (derivatives of Alishar I, a few sherds of Alishar III) was found together with hand-made prototypes and a few wheel-made samples of the so-called Hittite ware. Characteristic is a buff wheel-made ware forming wide-flaring bowls and bell-shaped beakers with string-cut bases. Shapes and technique clearly reflect Mesopotamian prototypes, and may well have come from Mesopotamia together with the wheel. A local development of the *depas amphikypellon* is also noteworthy. This mixture of types and techniques points to a date in the Middle Bronze Age, which means that the period of existence of the burnt building corresponds to the whole period of the Assyrian trading colonies. We may therefore assume a connexion between the fire which put an end to this level and the conquest and destruction of Hattuš by Anitta of Kuššara and Neša.

These conclusions tally with the results of excavations in the city, where it was found that there was a gap in occupation following the level dated by tablets to the period of Anitta (Level 4).

Within Building K and between Buildings K and A several pre-Empire levels were likewise investigated. The buildings here were of a more modest character than those in the south-west. Here too the fourth pre-Empire level proved to have perished by fire, and the sixth, which was also destroyed in a conflagration involving the whole area, contained objects of a Middle Bronze Age character similar to those from the deepest level in the south-west. In the north-east room of Building K, directly above the virgin rock and clearly below the burning-layer of the sixth level, was found a pithos which must be regarded as the oldest object yet found on Büyükkale. It is a hand-made vessel with oval cross-section, open mouth and small pedestal base, made of a coarse, yellow-brown clay tempered with sand, burnished on the outside and decorated with an irregular pattern of black, vertical lines. Two small horizontal handles are attached close under a serrated ledge running round the whole vessel. No parallel is known but the peculiarities of the vessel suggest that it should be assigned to the Chalcolithic.

Among small objects besides the large amount of well stratified pottery, several terra-cottas and bronzes may be mentioned, also a marble sword pommel and twenty-one seals or seal-impressions. Two hundred and sixty tablets or fragments of tablets were catalogued, mostly festival rituals, but also some historical fragments, letters and a few medical and divinatory texts.

CLAROS¹

The tenth campaign of excavations at Claros took place in August and September 1959. As in previous campaigns, several soundings were made down to the level of the water, at a certain distance around the temple, this time to the east, in order to make sure that there were no other buildings in the sacred grove. We extended the clearance round the temple of Apollo, in the hope of perhaps finding some more blocks and in order to open up the view. To the south-west we came upon the area where, in the Byzantine period, the columns of the back of the peristyle and the walls of the cella were cut up. To the south-east we uncovered a new Doric capital. To the north-west, behind the little Ionic temple, we found nothing. In connexion with the work of recording by drawing all the column-drums, we turned over the 11-ton architrave block bearing the name of the emperor Hadrian as dedicator; according to the titulature the dedication is not earlier than December 135 and is thus from the end of the reign.

An exceptional drought, without an hour of rain, following another dry year, facilitated work in depth. Thus the honorific bases and the exedra to the south of the temple façade could be cleared down to the bottom without trouble from water. We found there a head of a *kouros* of the 6th century (face badly destroyed, but good hair and ears) and a graceful head of a quite young girl with traces of the fixture of a metal crown (probably late Hellenistic). R. Martin continued and finished the excavation in depth at the bottom of the subterranean adyton in order to find an earlier stage of construction. The filling forming the foundation of the bottom of the cella was provisionally cleared, to half its depth and the whole of its breadth. Before the formation of this foundation, which was laid down at the time when the colossal statues of the Apollinian triad were installed and the

¹ Translated from information kindly supplied by Professor Louis Robert.

two chambers of the adyton were vaulted, the second chamber had the same depth as the first and the two chambers exactly balanced each other. Along the whole length of the back wall there was a parapet, reaching up to the breast, in front of a pool 60 m. wide. Thus the well of this second chamber, just beyond the mouth of the postern (by the entry to which a secretary was seated), can only have been built at the time of the construction of the vaults and the filling-up of the back part of the chamber. It may be observed that, though there may have been a change in the orifice—the point of access to the oracular water—for technical reasons, the actual sheet of water was the same. The ground of these subterranean chambers shows much evidence of the re-employment of blocks from older edifices, built on the same site and destroyed by the construction of the temple at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, i.e. essentially that which we see, despite certain alterations, dating from the 1st century B.C.

The excavations were extended particularly round the great altar of Apollo and of Dionysus, each of these gods having his own offering table. To the south we cleared without result a new section beyond the exedra. To the north we cleared two sections. We considerably widened the passage between the temple and the altar. This area of the altar yielded some very important discoveries. To the north of the great altar, a little in front of it, stood a second very much smaller altar. It is fairly near the little Ionic temple which we had attributed to Artemis Claria, but facing it, and must belong to it. Against its northern side we unearthed a very archaic *korē* (without its head), of natural size; the base of the body is cylindrical, one hand hangs down the body, the other is placed on the breast, the narrow waist is drawn in by a belt. The statue, the altar and consequently the little temple, are identified by the inscription which runs along the left side of the statue: "Timonax, son of Theodoros, consecrated me to Artemis, having been the first priest (τὸ πρῶτον ἱερεύσας)." These finds have a great interest for the religious history of Claros, and the statue practically links up chronologically with the Homeric hymn. Near this altar are six other altars crowded together, made of coarse stone and bearing late inscriptions; two are dedicated to Poseidon Themeliouchos and to the goddess of Miletos, Artemis Pythia.

As for inscriptions, the following must be mentioned: an intact decree of the third century with a very commonplace formula but issued in honour of an official of Ptolemy (probably Euergetes), a fact which proves, contrary to the view usually accepted, that there was a Lagid occupation at Colophon, as at Lebedos, at Ephesus, and also, in our opinion, at Teos; the remains of decrees of asylum; a list of a delegation from Chios to the oracle, of the second century A.D.; and small pieces of similar lists from Chios (with a device), Laodicea on the Lycus, Akmonia, Amasia, Sagalassos, and Philippiopolis.

We continued the exploration of the territory of Colophon and that of the territory of Teos. Near Teos, in the village of Hereke, which is full of ancient blocks, we recognized an ancient Charax. There we extracted from beneath the kerb of a well—with a view to having it transported to the Museum at Izmir—a block of dark blue marble, carved with an attractive decoration of the 4th century (battle between a Greek and two Amazons), analogous to that of the stelae of Chios and Bocotia. We carried out other epigraphical work in the museums of Istanbul (excavations of Professor Ekrem Akurgal at Ergili, the ancient Daskyleion) and of Izmir, and on the sites of Sardis (American excavations), Kyme, and Nicomedia.

SARDIS¹

The second campaign at Sardis was led by George M. A. Hanfmann, Field Director, Harvard, and A. Henry Detweiler, Associate Director, Cornell, and supported by these institutions and a grant from the Bollingen Foundation, New York, with the American Schools of Oriental Research acting as sponsor. In the western part of the city, work continued on the large Roman structure "B" and in the Late Roman and Byzantine shopping centre south of "B" (cf. *Archaeology*, 12:1 (Spring 1959), 53-61, and *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 154, April 1959, 5-35). New sectors were opened in the rectangular areas east and west of "B". A large marble colonnade and an imposing gate have begun to emerge east of "B". The dedicatory inscription of the gate mentions a *Sebastos kai Ioulia Sebaste*, probably a Severan Empress. A public latrine, coeval with the Byzantine Shops, was found along the boundary of the western area. Finds from the Byzantine shops continued abundant. One of the shops appears to have been transformed into a baptistery.

Across the modern highway which corresponds to the major east-west artery of ancient Sardis, the Early Christian "House of Bronzes" has developed an intelligible sequence of units; a luxuriously paved marble court yielded new bronzes (polycandelon, censer) and various marble furnishings. Two large marble statues of a togatus and his wife were found laid against the wall of another room. To the west of the "House of Bronzes", Hellenistic chamber tombs and Roman tile graves overlay at least two major Lydian levels, including one complete room. A sounding in depth may have reached a Bronze Age stratum with monochrome sherds.

Digging on the terraces above the "House of Bronzes" has established that the great city wall now visible in many parts of the site was built as a measure of retrenchment in one great effort, apparently during the 5th century A.D. The terraces consisted of debris of Roman houses replete with pottery, terra cottas, ivories and fragments of painted walls.

At the eastern boundary of Sardis, the large masonry structure "CG"—date as yet unknown—proves to have been transformed in Late Roman times into the central unit of a vast complex of brick and rubble, probably a bathing establishment. The furnace and a circular unit have been excavated as well as an interesting staircase resting on arches.

Following up a landslide from the high eastern bank of the Pactolus torrent about half a mile south of the highway, excavators exposed a stratified sequence which includes a large Roman mausoleum, a Hellenistic chamber tomb and three levels of Lydian structures. The latest of these perished in a violent fire, perhaps in the destruction of Sardis by the Ionians in 499 B.C. An expressive Late Roman portrait and fragments of a luxurious marble sarcophagus of the "Asiatic" type (second century A.D.) were found. A spirited horse head and a delicately carved portrait of a girl may belong to the sarcophagus lid. The Hellenistic "Tomb of the Lintel" yielded two major examples of Hellenistic pottery decorated with plastic attachments and reliefs. Not yet determined is the date of large marble slabs with simple profiles and lion legs at the corners.

Numerous finds have enriched the collections of Byzantine, Hellenistic and Roman pottery, of Byzantine and Roman glass and lamps, and of the two major

¹ By courtesy of Professor G. M. A. Hanfmann (Harvard) and Professor A. H. Detweiler (Cornell).

phases of early Lydian pottery. The later phase (*c.* 700–500 B.C.) is associated with imported Greek wares, Protocorinthian, Corinthian and Eastern Greek (Rhodian and Samian). Among the marble sculptures two large Roman capitals decorated with life-size heads of the laughing satyr and of Athena, respectively, deserve particular mention.

The results of 1959 indicate that at least in the western part of Sardis, the Lydian city covered a larger area than either the Greek city of Hellenistic times or the city of the Early Roman Empire, an interesting hint of the size of Sardis at the time of Croesus and the earlier Lydian kings.

KÜLTEPE¹

The excavations carried out by Professors Tahsin and Nimet Özgüç at Kültepe in the name of the Department of Antiquities and the Turkish Historical Society were continued in 1959.

In the *karum* a large building with storage rooms was excavated in Level Ib. In these intact buildings various vessels of well known shapes were found as well as the best preserved tablets so far found in the *karum*. These tablets, with the contemporary ones from Alishar and Boghazköy, furnish important information about the development of the last period of the Assyrian colonies and in particular about the extension of commerce starting at this period into the northern part of Central Anatolia. Stamp and cylinder-seal impressions on the Ib tablets are quite different from those of Level II. The tablets, unfortunately, are not as numerous as those of Level II. New pottery shapes and very large drinking cups with bulls' heads and seal impressions were discovered in these well preserved buildings. A mould for a statuette depicting the principal female deity with the male god, which originated at Kültepe, also shows the sacred animal, an original variation.

In Level II, a large building of ten rooms, containing the archive of a local Anatolian merchant Pushu-ahsu, was discovered. The storerooms of Pushu-ahsu, who appears to have been a very rich and important personality at Kanesh, were constructed as basement rooms. In the main hall, which occupies the centre of the building, we found a mud-brick grain bin in a corner, a hearth in the middle of the room and wide benches along the walls. Oven, kitchen and pantry formed separate rooms. The house had two storeys. Drinking vessels in the form of bulls, buffaloes, eagles and lions, cups with relief decoration and jugs with strainers were found in the pantry.

Cylinder-seal impressions of local types predominated this year, as the owners of the archives discovered were local Anatolians. It is thus possible to see the development of a local Anatolian style with its own characteristics under Mesopotamian influence. Excavations in the *karum* continue to furnish documents about this commercial centre as well as an ever increasing flow of objects with original characteristics.

On the mound, the excavation of a large building contemporary with Level II of the *karum* revealed new living quarters and in one of the rooms two tablets written in Assyrian. The cylinder-seal impressions of local style on the bullae are of the same style as those found in Level II of the *karum*. This monumental building, which judging by its plan, must be regarded as a temple, shows the presence of such monumental temples at Kültepe at least four centuries earlier than the temples of the Hittite Empire period at Boghazköy.

¹ Translated from a report kindly supplied by Professor Tahsin Özgüç.

The excavation of the deeper prehistoric levels on the mound revealed regular architectural complexes dating from the middle and early phases of the Early Bronze Age, with pottery and marble figurines. It would appear that chalcolithic levels will soon be reached. This year it was found that the stone cist graves in which the dead were buried were lavishly equipped with funerary offerings, both pottery of local origin and objects imported from North Syria. In view of its chronological importance for Central Anatolia, the pottery will soon be published. The Kültepe excavations now show that relations between North Syria and this part of Central Anatolia go back to the Early Bronze Age.

*ALTINTEPE*¹

In 1938 a chance discovery of Urartian objects was made at Altintepe, at the eastern end of the plain of Erzincan. It has now been ascertained that these came from a tomb and that only a small part of them was brought to the Ankara Museum. Since then, Altintepe has been neglected and no scientific exploration took place on the site. In 1956, a second burial was discovered close to the tomb destroyed in 1938, but none of the objects it contained found their way to the Turkish National Museums. While clearing the floor of this tomb, which consists of three chambers, in 1959, we saw that some finds of great importance for Urartian archaeology were still there. Unlike the first tomb, the funerary chambers had not been destroyed. The tomb is rectangular and consists of three rooms communicating with each other, the outside door being in the middle room. The walls were built of masonry in the Urartian style and they carry a vaulted roof.

In September–October 1959, excavations were started on this site for the Department of Antiquities with Professor Tahsin Özgüç in charge and assisted by Professor Nimet Özgüç, Bay Mahmut Akok, Bayan Kutlu Emre and a photographer Selahettin Öztartan.

Altintepe is a hill, partly natural and situated some 20 km. east of Erzincan on the road to Erzerum. As most Urartian sites, the town was built on a site with natural defences, which were supplemented by an enclosure wall which is still visible to-day. The chamber tombs were built into the south-east slope. A large rectangular shaft was cut into the soil, lined with strong walls of large stones, almost like an underground tower. Inside this lined shaft the funerary chambers were built, covered with stone slabs which supported a covering of layers of rough stones and earth.

The tomb we discovered is the third at Altintepe. It consisted of three chambers, and was stone built. The workmanship of the masonry compares with the best Urartian work. In contrast to the other two (rifled) tombs, this one is covered with flat stone slabs. In Room No. 1, which one entered from outside, there were found :

- (a) A very large bronze cauldron containing small metal vessels, iron weapons, small bronze statuettes of horses and carpenter's tools for furniture making.
- (b) Horse trappings and parts of harness and chariots, bits and bells.
- (c) Iron axes, lance and arrow-heads, knives and pickaxes.
- (d) Wood and metal parts of chairs and stools.
- (e) A set of pottery vessels.
- (f) Decorative objects of bone.

¹ Translated from a report kindly supplied by Professor Tahsin Özgüç.

It is important to note among these finds the bronze covering of the wooden legs of chairs in the form of bulls' and lions' legs ; as well as the horse trappings. The chairs and stools can easily be restored from the traces left in the soil.

On a thin bronze plaque measuring over $\frac{1}{2}$ m. in length, there are found three superimposed registers of reliefs, depicting horsemen holding lances, horsemen armed with bows, running lions, bulls, winged bulls, horses, sphinxes and goats. These motifs are more varied than those depicted on the shield from Toprakkale or those from Karmir-Blur. Another interesting find is an object depicting a god standing on a winged horse within a circle, 8 cm. in diameter. Holes at the corners of these objects show that they were nailed or sewn on to another material.

In Room 2 there stood two sarcophagi, undecorated and trough-shaped. One contained the skeleton of a man, the other that of a woman. Outside the man's sarcophagus there had been deposited an iron shield, arrowheads, a chair and three vessels. It seems that a garment, decorated with gold, silver and precious stones, had also been left there. In the woman's sarcophagus there lay a great many gold rosettes and parts of necklaces, richly granulated. These are the richest discoveries of gold objects made on an Urartian site. Outside the sarcophagus there had been placed a chair, two pots, gold and silver pieces *in situ* and a faience vessel imported from Assyria. In the third room there were found a chair, a couch, pottery jugs and plates and a silver rod, decorated at both ends with a lion's head. Most of the metal casing of the furniture legs was in silver.

In Rooms 2 and 3 there were numerous niches in the walls.

As the result of earthquakes, the stone slabs covering the tomb had cracked and fallen into the chambers, thus crushing many of the funerary gifts. Rain and earth also contributed to the decay of the metal objects. Nevertheless, at least one specimen of each type of funerary gift survived in a good condition.

The finds from Altintepe belong to the best period of Urartu and are contemporary with the finds from Toprakkale. All types of objects, in gold, silver, bronze, iron, pottery, faience and precious stones were deposited in these tombs. Not only have we gained much knowledge of Urartian burial customs, but we have also acquired a rich collection of objects, many of which have no parallels at Toprakkale or Karmir-Blur. The metal objects are now being cleaned and many new decorative motifs are appearing, but no cuneiform or hieroglyphic inscriptions have yet been brought to light.

A second important result of the Altintepe excavations was the discovery of an open-air temple or sanctuary among the tombs. It consists of five stelae nearly 3 m. high set upon a long stone base at one end of a small platform. The stones are very carefully cut, but there are no inscriptions. An altar with a central hole had been placed in front of the centre of the pediment. Undoubtedly this was an area associated with a funerary cult.

The Altintepe excavations will be continued in 1960 and both this cult area and other tombs will be investigated. The Urartian city at Altintepe we hope to investigate after 1961.

FOUR EARLY CHRISTIAN MONASTERIES IN CENTRAL LYCIA

Mr. R. M. Harrison has contributed the following preliminary report on his season's work :

In June 1959 assisted by my wife I began a survey of Early Christian remains in Lycia. The wealth of new material discovered during the subsequent months

was such that it seems advisable to make a brief description of four important monastery churches available immediately, rather than to postpone it until the completion of the survey. The buildings under consideration form a compact group in a small area, being all on the south side of Alaca Dağ in the *muhtarlik* of Muskar. Alaca Dağ lies immediately to the north of the small coastal plain of Demre (ancient Myra).

The four churches have similar plans: each comprises a nave and two aisles approaching a large trefoil sanctuary, which supported a dome. In three cases (Karabel, Deve Kuyusu and Dikmen) the masonry is composed of large limestone blocks accurately jointed and carefully dressed: in the fourth (Alacahisar) the sanctuary is cut from the living rock, and its better preservation has done much to elucidate the architecture of the other three.

1. *Alacahisar*

The rock-cut sanctuary is defined to the north, east and south respectively by three apses surmounted by semi-domes. The fourth side is spanned by an arch leading from the nave, and the crowns of the arch and apses are linked by triangular pendentives, which provide the circular basis for a central dome. The nave is flanked by north and south aisles, the outer walls of which are at the east end cut from the same great outcrop of rock as the sanctuary, but after a few metres give way to fairly rough stone walling. The outer wall of the south side is clear and is continued beyond the western end of the church to enclose an atrium, in the middle of which is a well. There is no narthex, and the jambs of the central and southern doorways of the western end of the church are still standing. A passage at the end of each aisle connects it with the sanctuary. Adjoining the sanctuary on the north, and communicating with it, is a large chapel with an eastern apse also cut from the rock. A curious feature of the church is that it is virtually free-standing, the east end having been carefully cut from the main mass of rock and the apse given a rectangular exterior. The effect is to provide a light-well for the three east windows and to imitate exactly the form of the other three churches. Clear grooves cut into the rock show that the roofing of the aisles was steep-pitched and of timber. The lower rim of the dome is exactly 8.0 m. from present ground-level (perhaps 1.5 m. above the church floor), and the overall length of the church is 25.0 m.

2. *Karabel*

The monastery at Karabel comprises a large church with dependent chapels and chambers, an atrium with a well at the west end of the church and a large complex of unidentified buildings to the west and north. The atrium was entered by a doorway on its south side. Again each of the apses has a rectangular exterior and the masonry rises nearly 2.0 m. above the springing of the semi-domes. The sanctuary was approached by a nave and lateral aisles, and again there is no narthex. The richly carved doorway leading from the atrium to the south aisle is still standing. Flanking the south aisle and entered from it are two chapels, one barrel vaulted, the other roofed with a heavy dome on rudimentary pendentives. North of the main sanctuary, and connected with it by a doorway beneath the double window of the north apse, is a long room with an eastern apse. That this was the baptistery is proved by the discovery in it of a *piscina*, the cruciform plan of which closely resembles that of a *piscina* at Sbaita in the Negeb. The length of the church is 28.5 m., and the outer face of the east apse is standing to a height of nearly 10.0 m. The distinctive character of the masonry and the style and

repertory of fine architectural carving both here and at Alacahisar suggest a 6th century date for the series.

3. *Deve Kuyusu*

Only the sanctuary is standing, of which the east apse is intact to two courses of the surmounting semi-dome. There are traces of the western transverse wall of the church, but the complete plan could not be drawn with certainty. There is an atrium, the central well of which is still in use, and to the north of the atrium and the church are the foundations of several adjoining buildings.

4. *Dikmen*

Again the same plan occurs, although on a slightly reduced scale. The three apses are quite clear in a tangle of undergrowth and are constructed of the usual massive, carefully cut masonry. The most striking feature of the site is the huge lintel *in situ* over the doorway which leads from the south apse into an adjoining chapel.

The survey of Early Christian sites in Lycia will be continued during 1960, and an article, which will include a full account and discussion of these churches, is planned for Volume XI of this journal. Meanwhile it can confidently be stated that the elaborate plan, the heavy masonry and the rich architectural carving are all derived from the countries of the south-east Mediterranean : and indeed this should be expected from Myra's important position on the great trade route which linked Alexandria and Antioch with the West.

My thanks are due to the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara for its Annual Scholarship 1958-59 and the University of Edinburgh for the Tweedie Fellowship 1959. The work described here was carried out during the tenure of these two awards.

THE TROAD AND WESTERN ANATOLIA :

Professor J. M. Cook has kindly contributed the following report :

Supported by a Leverhulme Research Award, I was in Turkey for two and a half months in the summer of 1959. I investigated a number of sites in Caria and Ionia and, in conjunction with Professor G. E. Bean, who was assisted by Istanbul University, undertook investigations in the Troad. These resulted in a satisfactory location for the city of Hamaxitus and the discovery of two hitherto unknown classical sites in the Scamander valley. We found also some forty new inscriptions belonging for the most part to Alexandria Troas.

In August, with a grant from Cambridge University, we carried out a trial excavation of the site of an ancient sanctuary at Pazarlık above Hisarönü in the Rhodian Peraea ; this is the site which Admiral Spratt visited in 1860 and recognized on no very firm grounds, as the temple of Latona near Phycus. During our investigations Miss Nezahat Baydur acted as Commissar for the Antiquities Department and was of the utmost help in the organisation of the work and in the study of the architectural remains.

The site lies on a crest of the Eren Dağ at an altitude of c. 275 m. above the sea. On the coast below are remains of an ancient deme of the Rhodian Peraea, probably that of the Bybassians. It was hoped that the sanctuary at Pazarlık might be identified as that of Hemitheia at Kastabos, but no ancient inscription has come to light except a signature of an Athenian sculptor. The temple stood on a platform whose sides are revetted by high walls of massive polygonal masonry. Its ruins lie in utter confusion. After the dense scrub had been removed, the main task undertaken was

the clearing of debris at a number of points with a view to ascertaining the dimensions and main features of the temple. It appears that the cella had internal measurements of *c.* 9.5×4.25 m., with a floor of lime plaster resting on stone pack and surfaced with tiny pebbles. On the sides and back the stylobate, composed of stone paving slabs, extended for a distance of *c.* 2.6 m. from the cella walls. A whitestone Corinthian capital, which was found at the south edge of the stylobate, may belong to the pteron, but it seems to be of a date later than the original construction of the temple.

The greater part of the temple porch was cleared. It connected with the cella by a doorway *c.* 2.1 m. wide. But on the side facing the porch the threshold is too high for normal use, and it has a projecting carved moulding at its foot ; so it is difficult to believe that this doorway provided a normal means of entry to the cella. Further, a few feet in front of this doorway and centrally placed on its axis, there stood a circular base composed of blocks numbered on top in early Hellenistic lettering. The precise dimensions of the porch have not yet been established, but it seems likely that the overall length of the temple was *c.* 22.5 m. Fragments of mouldings and sculptured relief from the entablature were found among the debris. Remains of several smaller buildings were noted on the temple platform. Excavation on the site was limited to two small trial trenches dug near the edges of the platform ; on the evidence at present available the construction of the temple platform may be dated about the second half of the fourth century B.C.

To the east of the temple a marble statue (previously noted by Spratt) was discovered together with its base. Several other statue bases were found ; unfortunately all except the one already remarked were uninscribed. Under the temple platform on the south, remains of a roadway and several buildings were noted but not investigated ; a small patch of the cavea of the theatre was cleared, and the stone benches were shown to be of very poor construction.

BEYCESULTAN, 1959

SIXTH PRELIMINARY REPORT

By SETON LLOYD

A FINAL SEASON of excavating at Beycesultan was arranged in the autumn of 1959 and lasted from 15th September to 28th October. The work was once more in charge of the Director, who was accompanied by Mrs. Seton Lloyd and a staff consisting of Mr. Martin Harrison (Institute Scholar for 1958-59) and Mrs. Harrison, Mr. Harry Smith of Christ's College, Cambridge, Miss Carol Cruikshank, Mr. Michael Brett as architect and Bay Osman Aksoy as Turkish Government representative. The Assistant Director and Miss Clare Goff also took part in the excavations during the second half of the season.

It had been decided on this occasion to concentrate the entire resources of the expedition on the continued clearance of the Middle Bronze Age palace on the eastern summit of the mound, partly excavated in the seasons of 1954 and 1955, in the hope of recovering as much of the plan as possible before the excavations finally closed down. This was accomplished with considerable success. Two large new areas of the building were cleared and a point reached where any further extension would have met with serious practical difficulties. The depth at which the palace ruins are located can be judged from the fact that almost half the season was spent in the rather unrewarding task of recording and removing the remains of subsequent occupations, represented by four major building-levels (I-IV). Some initial disappointment was also occasioned by the excessively dilapidated condition of the palace ruins themselves when first encountered in the north-eastern area. But on the north-west side they were found to be a great deal better preserved; and during the final weeks of the season much new and surprising light was thrown on the planning and architectural principles illustrated by the construction of this unique building. These architectural discoveries indeed constitute the major results of our last season's work; for no museum objects or removable antiquities of any sort were found in the palace ruins. A little more will presently be said in this connexion, since their absence has led to certain important conclusions regarding the destruction of the building and the varying states of preservation in which its different sections had survived.

Areas Excavated

First then, the two main areas excavated in 1959 can probably best be located by reference to the plan published in *AS. VI*, Fig. 3, representing the stage which the clearance of the palace had reached by the end of the 1955 season. One of them, which may be referred to as the North-east Area, was a northward extension of the east wing of the building, already partially excavated in 1955 (map squares E/2, E/3, E/4 and D/4; cf. also the present Fig. 1). The other, to be called the North-west Area, was

on the west side of the central courtyard and exposed a new wing of the building, some walls of which had already been observed in Trench "K" (map squares E, F, G/7, 8, 9; cf. the present Fig. 2). Towards the end of the season these two areas were connected, across the southern end of the central courtyard, by an eastward extension of Trench "K". The North-east Area was dug in two sections ("AA" and "CC"), separated from each other by the old Trench "Y", cut in 1958 to determine the extent of the building: but for the present purpose it may be treated as a single unit (cf. the present Fig. 1).

Later Occupations

Over the whole of the North-east Area the remains of Late Bronze Age occupations stratigraphically distinguished as levels IA, IB and II, had been totally cleared and removed in previous seasons (cf. *AS.* VI, Fig. 2). In 1959 therefore we were mainly concerned with levels IIIA and B (also falling within the Late Bronze Age), and with two sub-periods in Level IV, which has hitherto been considered to represent a long period of occupation by a "squatter" population, after the destruction of the palace. The first systematic rebuilding of the city in Level III could here indeed easily be recognised in the stone foundations of comparatively well-built private houses, ranged along either side of the two parallel streets, which continued to be a feature of the "palace-enclosure" in Level II. Beneath these in Level IV, both the character and the orientation of the houses changed very considerably, and various stages could be distinguished in the re-occupation of the old palace site, following the disaster by which the city was destroyed in 1750 B.C.

It is clear for instance that at first the only parts of the ruins deemed suitable for re-occupation were the central courtyard and east wing. The west and south wings evidently remained still standing to a considerable height, as we ourselves in fact found them. The raised floors of the large chambers in the east wing evidently offered a firm emplacement for rebuilding: so such stumps of walls as remained standing were demolished down to this level and the debris spread evenly over the courtyard to the west. The size of these old palace chambers is again emphasised by the fact that one of them (Room 24) had a floor area sufficient to accommodate a complete house in Level VB. It can be seen in Plate Ia; a simple building, probably of the *megaron* type, with a rectangular central hearth built up from the pavement and beside it a rather slovenly open rubbish pit. The other circular depressions in this picture are grain-storage pits intruding from the level above. The whole north-east area was honeycombed with such pits, which greatly complicated the excavation of the palace remains in that quarter.

North-east Area

It was in fact only with extreme difficulty that the plan of the north-east area could be recovered, as may be understood from one typical view of its remains which appears in Plate Ib. Nothing above floor level

remained standing. The stone substructure of the walls, often calcined into white powder by the heat of the fire, had spread into the "heating passages" or over the floors on either side, and their alignment could only be fixed by connecting the minute fragments of wall-face which survived. It was possible of course to determine which chambers had raised floors and which "basic" pavements. In Room 24, an abnormally large chamber with "heating passages", we could detect the presence in

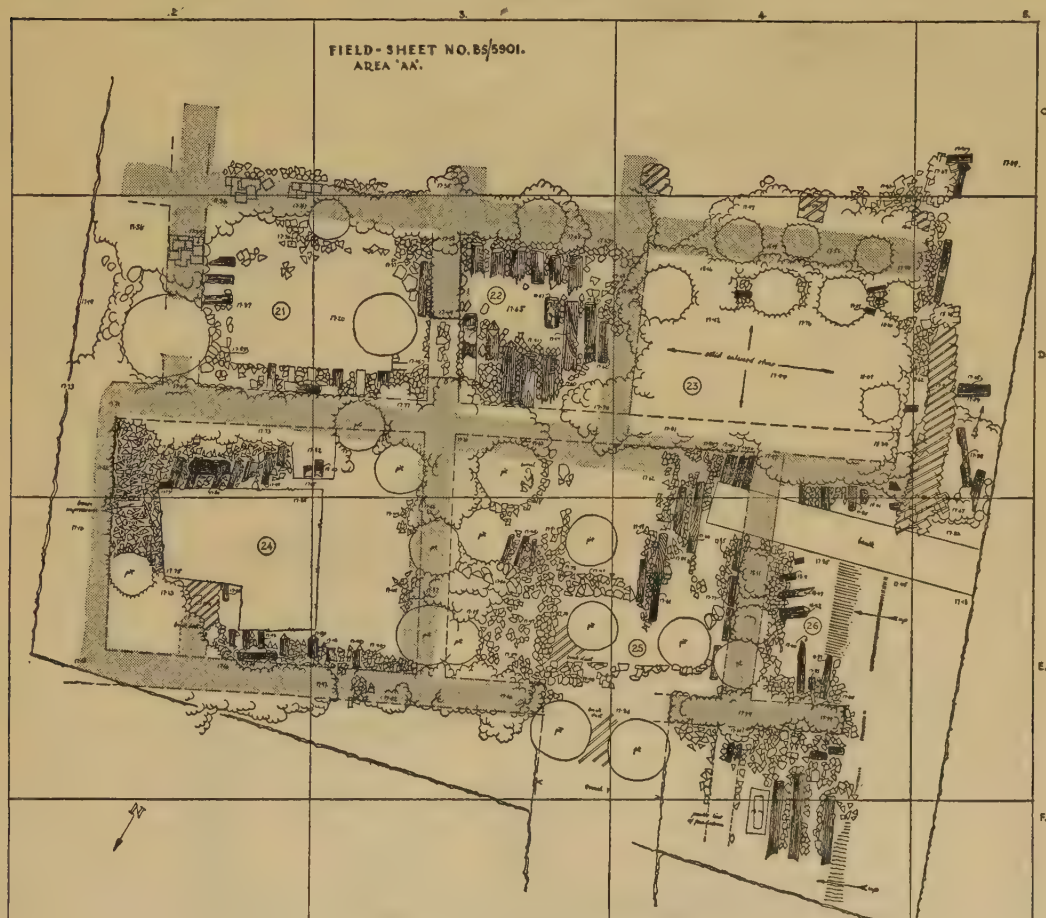


FIG. 1. The North-east Area.

the eastern corner of a solid structure which was almost certainly a small staircase (Plate IIa). Room 25 may have had an entry from outside the building, though the outer wall was too denuded to be certain. Room 26, though one side of it was open to the central court, nevertheless seemed inexplicably to be provided with "heating passages" around the other three sides. Room 23 was at first a puzzle since it appeared to be a solid mass of fallen stonework: but this was eventually identified as the remains of an imposing staircase rising up in two flights from the central courtyard. And here the excavation extended far enough westward for us to learn something of the actual appearance of the courtyard itself. In

the southern corner the charred remains were once more found of a wooden column about 60 cm. in diameter, evidently one in a line of such supports for a wooden gallery running all round the court at first-floor level. In the filling above, part of the gallery itself was found intact—the usual beam-supported mud floor, covered with a layer of partly carbonised rushes 25 cm. deep. This floor-covering of rushes, evidently

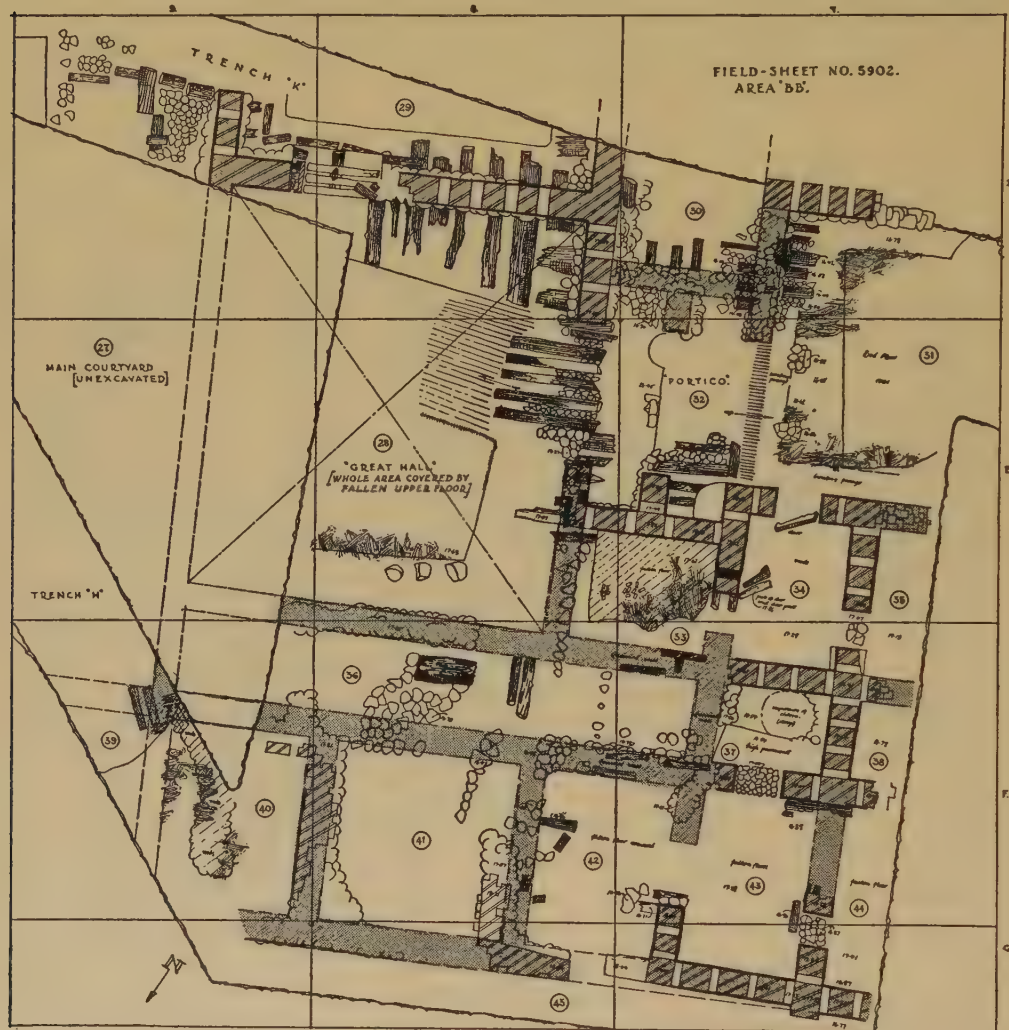


FIG. 2. The North-west Area.

frequently renewed, afterwards became a familiar feature of all the upper-floor rooms of which remains were found. The pavement of the courtyard itself, which must have been open to the sky, was no more than roughly trampled earth with a few pebbles and pottery fragments to harden it. It seemed to be separated by a low kerb from the covered way around it.

North-west Area

In the north-west wing it was a relief to find the building a great deal better preserved. Its ruins were first encountered in Square E/8

(Fig. 2) and they took the form of an area about 10 m. square entirely covered by an undulating mud pavement, once more covered with a deposit of carbonised reeds (Plate II*b*). It took some days to convince ourselves that what we were dealing with was the floor of an enormous upper chamber, fallen almost intact into a similar chamber below, when the wooden posts which supported it burnt through. But this was undoubtedly the case, for the walls still survived of a small hut or storehouse built directly upon it at a different angle by the squatters of Level IV, using burnt brick and stones taken from the ruins (visible in Plate II*b*). Lying near the south-west wall of the chamber, which projected through the fallen floor, were several huge scantlings of timber, up to 3 m. in length and only partly carbonised. These will be referred to in detail elsewhere.

One advantage of these fallen upper floors proved to be that, in falling, they had "blanketed" the fire beneath, and on breaking through them, we came upon a section of the building where the walls remained standing to a height of almost 2 m., the bricks hardly more than blackened by smoke and their timber framework intact, though in a carbonised condition (Plate III*a*). Thus for the first time we were able to study in detail this strange form of construction, which in the past we have so often attempted hypothetically to reconstruct. A study of these ruins in perspective, made by Miss Clare Goff, appears in Fig. 3, with a new diagrammatical reconstruction in the top right-hand corner. One sees the wall divided into "panels" of brickwork, and in the gaps between these, heavy logs laid transversely to form a base for the vertical posts, which we know to have been tied in to roof timbers above.¹ There are also "runner" beams at intervals of five or six courses in both faces of the wall itself and the ends of these also were tied in to the vertical posts and attached by cross-pieces to one another. Then comes the stone sub-structure, which also was reinforced with runner-beams at intervals, and finally the timber foundations. These wooden foundations were a feature which had not previously been observed in other parts of the building, and they now throw new light on the construction of the so-called "heating passages" which have been discussed in previous reports. One now sees how, before starting to build the wall, a foundation trench must have been dug at least three times the breadth of the wall itself. In this beams of wood were laid transversely, side by side. The wall itself was then built along the centre of the beams, leaving spaces on either side, which could either be roofed in with smaller joists to form "heating passages" or simply filled in with earth up to the pavement level on either side. The very long and heavy timbers used as foundations in the case of an important wall can be seen in Plate IV*b*, where they have been exposed by removing the burnt debris from the "heating passage". These were simply tree-trunks of juniper, their ends untrimmed after felling.

¹ Precisely the same form of construction, found by Tahsin Özgüç at Kültepe, is reproduced by Rudolph Naumann in *Architektur Kleinasiens* (Tübingen, 1955), Fig. 88, p. 101.

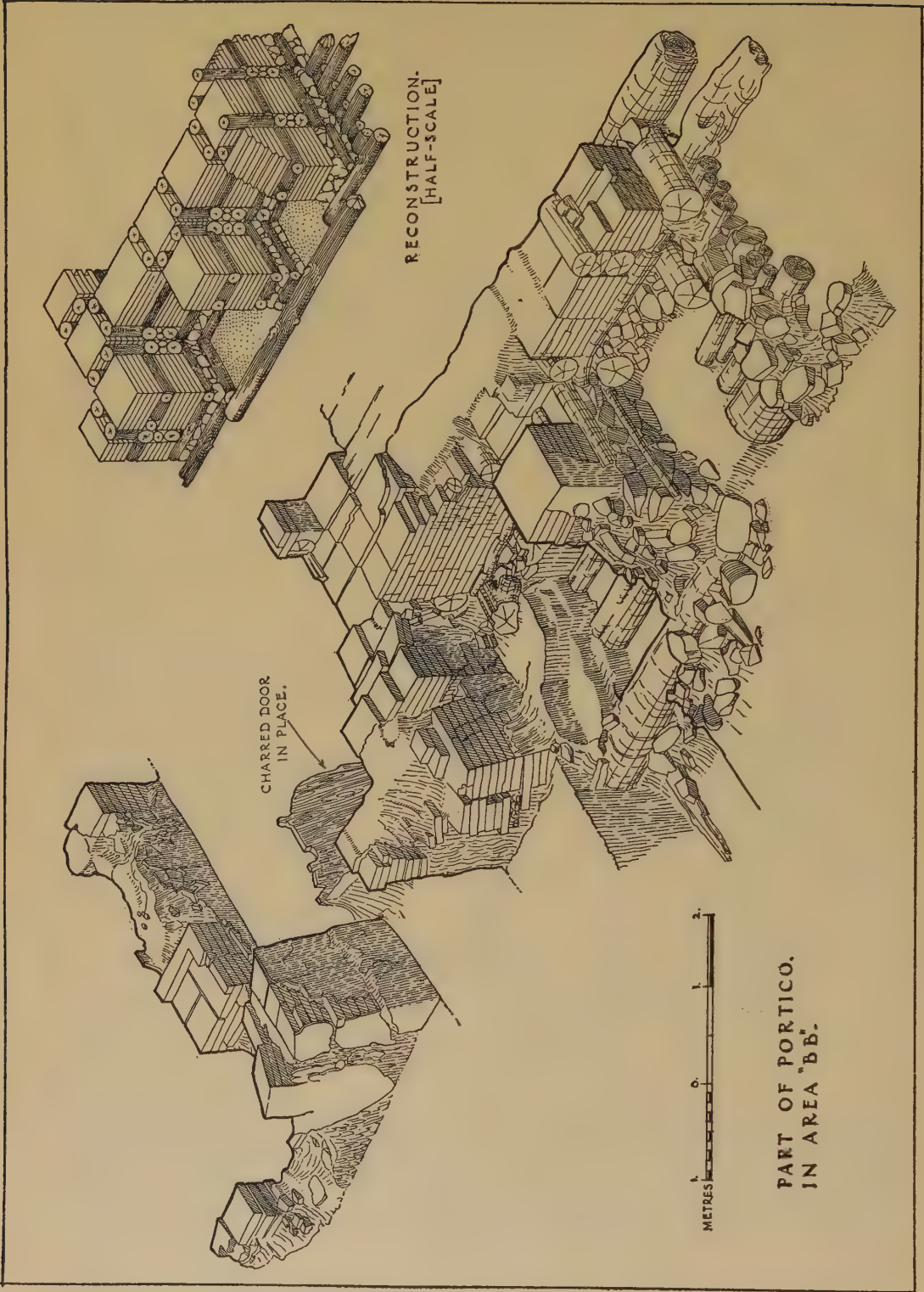


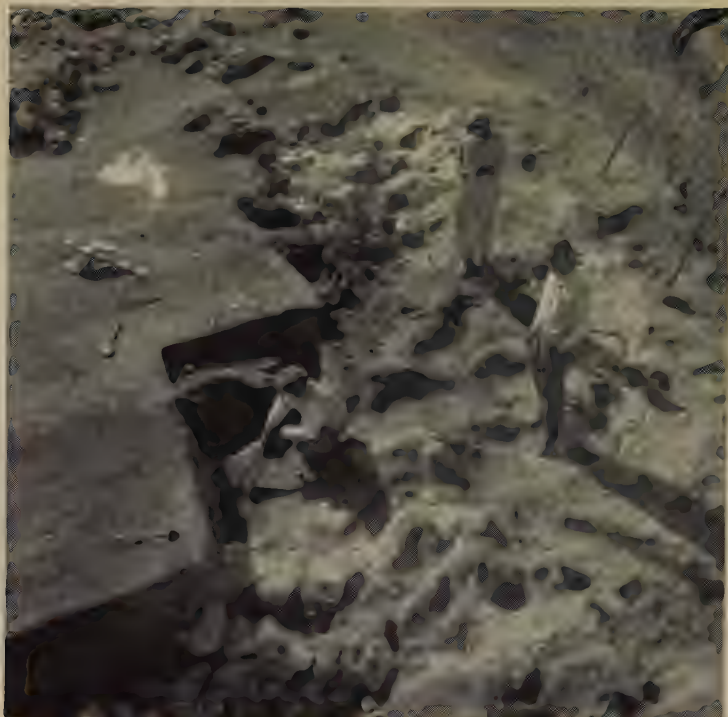
FIG. 3. Architectural remains of Room 32.



(a) Private house in Level IVb occupying a single chamber in the ruins of the Burnt Palace.



(b) South wall and "heating passage" in Room 24.



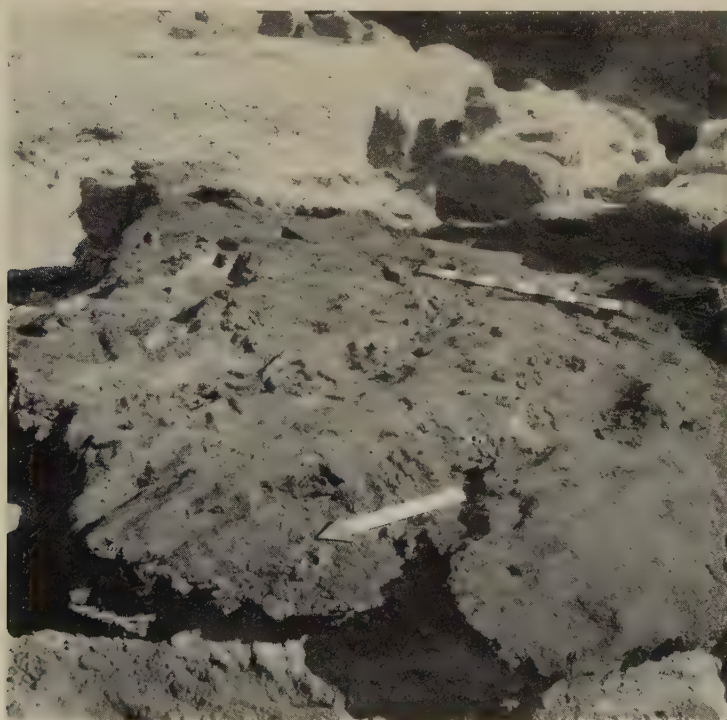
(a) Statue in the corner of Room 24.



(b) Fallen upper floor lying over the ruins of the reception hall (Room 28).



(a) Well-preserved walls of the "Portico" (Room 32) with timber framework intact.



(b) Fallen upper floor in Room 33 covered with carbonised hay.



(a) Fragment of timber with square sockets for circular wooden bosses.



(b) Timber foundations of the south wall of reception hall (Room 28).

As work on the north-western area progressed, the plan of the west wing began to emerge (Fig. 2). The group of walls described in the previous paragraph shaped themselves into a pair of rectangular niches and the foundations were uncovered of a second pair, facing the first across some sort of portico. This was approached from the west through a large chamber, part of which had been cleared during the excavation of Trench "K" in 1955 (Figs. 3 and 8 in *AS. VI*, 1956). It had "heating passages" and a rush-strewn floor. From here, a doorway led northwards to the group of smaller rooms which constituted the west wing (cf. Fig. 3), and here again the fall of an upper floor had preserved the door itself almost intact—a single plank of pine nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres in width—standing ajar as it had been left.

None of the rooms in the west wing had "heating passages"; but all had raised floors except Room 36 which seems likely to have been a light-area or perhaps to have contained a staircase. Each room also had the remains of a fallen upper floor, and one, Room 33, was of special interest in this respect (Plate III*b*). In this case the mud floor was deeply bedded, not in rushes but in hay, done up in bundles with cord, in which various wild grasses as well as the leaves and seed-pods of wild flowers were preserved by carbonisation and easily recognisable. (It is hoped that a specialist commentary on them may be published elsewhere.) Lying again upon these were many broken fragments of wooden rods about an inch in diameter. These one supposed to be part of the roof-structure over the upper floor.

Architectural Features

To the east of the portico was the great reception hall (Room 28) whose fallen upper floor had so puzzled us at the beginning of the excavation. It had an abnormally wide doorway leading south-west into a similar large chamber (Room 29), and here was another interesting architectural feature. The wooden threshold consisted of three heavy baulks of roughly dressed timber, laid longitudinally side by side on a foundation of smaller beams; and still bedded in the carbonised wood, in an appropriate position, was a hemispherical plate of bronze which must either have been the lining of a socket in which the door-pivot revolved or a "shoe" attached to the pivot itself, as has been found in Assyrian buildings. Near this doorway also lay the three large wooden fragments previously mentioned, which may have formed part of the door-lining or architrave. On the reverse side of one, when we lifted it, we found two square sockets about 30 cm. apart, still containing the remains of circular-headed wooden bosses which may perhaps have been ornamented with carving (Plate IV*a*). It has always been assumed that architectural features of this building such as wooden columns, panelling, etc., may have been enriched in this way; but this was the first, and may remain the only evidence found during the excavations to confirm the impression.

Some further puzzling features of the palace building came to light

during this final season's excavation and not all of them have yet been satisfactorily explained. One was the perennial problem of raised floors and "heating passages". The latter seemed to occur in all chambers except those obviously too small (e.g. those of the west wing), and those serving as light-wells or for other reasons obviously open to the sky. These latter were floored at what came to be called "basic" pavement-level (i.e. level with the tops of the timber foundations). In a few cases these floors were "made up" with logs of wood and stones in between to hold them in position (e.g. Rooms 22 and 25 in Fig. 1). But in others the pavement was merely of trampled earth—with no obvious provision for drainage. Again in the so-called "portico" (Room 32) there was an earth pavement at basic level. One therefore descended into it from the raised floor of the large vestibule (Room 31), and a steep ramp, made up with logs and stone, brought one up from it to that of the reception hall (Room 28), leaving the ends of its wide "heating passages" exposed on either side. One can only suppose that the latter would have been boarded up to make a presentable appearance. But since it will presently be shown that all three of these chambers form units in the main axial approach to the building from the west, the mud floor of the portico, contrasting with the rush-strewn and artificially heated pavements of the reception rooms on either side, is difficult to explain, and one must perhaps suppose that, on ceremonial occasions at least, it was covered with some sort of woven matting, of which no trace could be expected to remain.

The Plan Reconstructed

Having dealt in a summary manner with the construction and certain other details of the newly-exposed parts of the building, we may now consider the plan as a whole. And for this purpose, the schematic reconstruction made in the autumn of 1959 (Fig. 4) may be referred to.

First, then, it will be seen that the outside limits of the building have still only been clearly defined in two places. The double outer wall on the south side is one and the northern wall of the north-east wing the other (since it was shown in Trench "Y" that the building extended no further in this direction). An attempt was made at the very end of the 1959 season to complete the clearance of the east entrance, found in 1955, but this was frustrated by a sudden change in the weather. Judging from the formation of the mound, however, the east wing seems unlikely to extend beyond the last range of chambers now partly exposed on that side. The west wing, on the other hand, clearly does have a further extension northward, and the shape of the mound leaves room for a good deal more building on the north side. The comparative scarcity of storage-space and service arrangements in the part of the building excavated has suggested to us that on this side there may have been a wide service courtyard surrounded by storage magazines (similar to Rooms 4 and 14 in AS. VI, Fig. 3).

As for the south-western part of the building, where a fairly large area had to be left unexcavated owing to the accumulation of dumped



FIG. 4. Schematic reconstruction.

earth, there can be no doubt that here occurred the most important entrance to the building: and we know from the excavation of Trench "D" in 1955 that it was approached up a steep ramp from the direction of the river-crossing, where one of the principal city gates must have been situated. Fairly certainly there would have been a "lustral chamber" similar to that adjoining the east entrance (Room 16), and it was through this that one entered the broad vestibule (Room 31), first discovered in

Trench "K". Here one turned at a right-angle to face the main axis of approach to the centre of the building, which passed through the "portico", up into the great pillared reception hall and down again into the central courtyard. Here one was faced by the broad stairway leading to the upper floor. The "portico" itself is difficult to reconstruct, though it can be recognised as a carefully considered architectural feature. The niches did not come down as far as the floor and, if accessible at all, must have been reached by small steps. It would perhaps be over-fanciful to do more than suggest that they were used for some ceremonial purpose.

The Upper Storey

As has been said, the excavation of the west wing provided the first positive evidence of the existence of an upper floor, and it showed that the reception hall (Room 28), which measured 17 by 12 m., was duplicated in the upper storey by a chamber of similar dimensions. On the other hand, neither in the "portico" nor in the vestibule beyond it (Room 31) were any traces found of a fallen upper structure, and one is left to assume that these chambers ran up to the full height of the building, which would be compatible with their function as part of a monumental entry to the palace. As for the east and south wings, in the case of the former no conclusion could be reached owing to the total denudation of the ruins down to ground-floor level: but one would naturally assume that here also there was an upper storey. In the southern wing, on the other hand, the ruins remained standing to almost a man's height: but only in one chamber (the long storage magazine, No. 14), was a large fragment of the upper structure found fallen intact, and as this showed signs of having frequently been replastered on its upper surface, it seemed more likely to be part of a flat roof. It may therefore be right to think only of the west and east wings as standing two storeys high. Even so it is clear that the upper chambers which they contained were as pretentious in size and character as those below: and one is immediately reminded of the principle adopted in the Cretan palaces, of placing the more important suites of reception rooms on the upper floor ("*piano nobile*", as Evans christened it), while the rooms below were merely storerooms and passages. By contrast, in this Anatolian building both floors were obviously used for residential purposes, and this may well be explained by differences of climate due to the altitude of the Anatolian plateau (*c.* 3,000 feet). The ground floor with its possible provision for heating, was more suitable for use in the winter, while the upper floor may well have consisted partly of "balcony"-type chambers, open on one side to the air, like the wooden upper storeys of modern Turkish houses in nearby villages. Such rooms can of course only be reconstructed from fairly scanty evidence, but Rooms 20 and 26 are two examples which, to judge by their shape, would have had counterparts on the upper floor open on one side to the wooden gallery around the courtyard and so to the open air beyond. It seems probable that the same applied to the huge upper chamber above the reception hall. We in any case gained the impression that the whole of

the upper storey was lightly constructed, perhaps largely of wood (as again is the habit of the very conservative peasant builders of the present day). For the actual volume of fallen debris seemed hardly commensurate with the remains of a heavier structure.

Where an upper storey occurred, open "areas" were of course necessary to bring light to the rooms below. These were easily recognisable by their pavements at "basic" level and seemed logically well-placed for the purpose (e.g. Rooms 30, 36, 22, 19 and 1).

Here then is a Middle Bronze Age public building which, in its construction and planning, has no exact parallel in the archaeology of Anatolia as known up to now. It might have been hoped that, apart from the character of its architecture, the surviving contents of its actual rooms might have thrown much new light on the people who built it. But in this we were again disappointed. The total absence beneath the fallen debris of any kind of removable object whatsoever, has indeed led us to speculate anew regarding the manner in which the building met its end. We had earlier considered the possibility of systematic looting before it was set on fire: but the absence even of broken pottery fragments or other litter which would have resulted, has now brought us to the conclusion that, with news of a hostile army approaching, there may have been time to evacuate the contents of the palace as well as its inhabitants, and to transport them (as indeed the vast quantities of timber for the construction of the building had earlier been transported) to a safer place.

Finally, one may perhaps mention that, if a comparison of the reconstruction in Fig. 4 with the photographs of the actual remains suggests in the former too free a use of imagination, it should be understood that it is based entirely on inferences from evidence which will be presented in detail in a final publication.



NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS FROM PISIDIA. PART II

By G. E. BEAN

I PASS NOW to the eastern side of the central mountain range, to the ancient sites lying east and west of the main Burdur–Antalya road.

In the little plain of Çineovası, 13 km. from Burdur, about 300 yards east of the main road, just opposite the 110th kilometre-stone from Antalya, is a rocky hill some 40 m. high carrying a small fortified site that seems hitherto to have escaped observation. The top of the hill has been levelled to form an area some 25 by 15 m., surrounded on all four sides by a wall of excellent coursed polygonal masonry 1·20 m. thick (Pl. Va). On the west this wall merely supplements the precipitous rock-face; on the other sides it still stands to a height of some 5 m., and was originally much higher, as beds for polygonal blocks can be seen in several places in the rock-surface on the summit, and great quantities of these blocks are lying on the slopes below. In the interior are traces of four or five walls up to 1 m. thick, now flush with the ground, and a large rock-cut cistern some 5 by 4 m. and over 2 m. deep. At the south-east corner are the collapsed ruins of an ornamented building, the blocks carefully cut, with mouldings and clamp-holes; one of these blocks forms a shallow anta. Two architectural blocks apparently belonging to this building are lying in the cistern. At the highest point on the west is the curious arrangement shown in Pl. Vb: two shallow rock-cut steps lead up to a boulder whose inner face is cut so as to overhang; its upper surface is roughly smoothed. The appearance presented is at first sight somewhat reminiscent of the Phrygian rock-altars of the Midas City; but I should hesitate to assert that it is in fact an altar. The surface sherds are of the types usual in this region and none appear to be earlier than Roman; but the fortification must surely be older than this. The "coursed polygonal" style of masonry is characteristic of the early Hellenistic period,¹ and the site seems likely to be a Sagalassian fort of the late 4th or 3rd century; the cistern is indicative of a permanent garrison. The building in the south-east corner, however, appears hardly to be of military type and under the pax Romana the place may perhaps have been put to other uses.

In the village of Arvallı² are the following inscriptions Nos. 89 and 90. They are stated to come from the *yayla* of Demirli, about an hour and a half above Arvallı on the west. I visited this spot in 1958; it is a pleasant grassy hillside with abundant water, occupied in summer by half a dozen shepherds' tents. There are three or four piles of stones including cut blocks and a few fluted column-drums, marking the positions of ancient buildings of some kind, but nothing suggestive of a city or town site. The place appears to have been merely a summer residence, similar for example to that at Girdev Gölü, on the territory of Oenoanda,³ but on a smaller scale.

¹ Scranton *Greek Walls* 52, 69, 165; cf. *JHS*. LXVII (1947), 130, and LXXIII (1953), 26, n. 82.

² This, rather than Arvalı, is apparently the true form of the name.

³ *BSA*. LI (1956), 143.

89. Arvallı, in the main street of the village, from Demirli, a Doric-fluted column more than 0·97 h., 0·55 in diameter ; on top, one square and two round holes. Rough letters 4 to 6 cm. high.

Νέων Ἀττάλο[υ]
Πονασατους
ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ
τοῖς τέκνοις
ἀνέθηκεν

The name Ponasates appears to be new.

90. Arvallı, beside No. 89, also from Demirli, a similar fluted column more than 1·53 h., 0·53 in diameter. The inscription is written across the fluting ; the upper part of it has been chiselled away to make deeper flutes. Letters of moderate quality 35–40 mm. high ; *nu* is written backwards.

καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτ-
οῦ Ὀλυμπιάς Ἀτ-
τάλου *vacat*
καὶ Μένανδρος
Μάνου καὶ Ῥό-
δων Νέωνος
Κερναπολίου
κατὰ διαθήκην

The name Kernapolis is also new. I need hardly call attention again to the custom in this region of omitting τοῦ before the grandfather's name.

91. From Demirli my guide pointed out to me across the valley to the north the position of certain ruins, including an inscription. I was not able to visit the spot, but my guide subsequently did so and sent me a copy of the text. It is on a block 2 m. long and 0·90 m. high, and reads (divested of the eccentricities of the copy) :—

† εὐξάμενος Ζώσιμος ὁ εὐλαβ(έστατος) διακ(ονος) ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ πεδίου
μου Ζοείλου κὲ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου μου ἐποίησα τὴν εἴσοδον

The ruins in question are presumably those of a church.

KUŞBABA

For the lake of Kestel see Part I, p. 68. Near its north-west corner is the village of Kuşbaba, a long straggling affair of some 250 houses, extending from a little above the plain to a little below the summit of the hill to the north. On this summit is the acropolis of an ancient city ; the site is now called Gâvur İni. The summit itself is rocky and bare ; a few building stones are lying about and a fair quantity of sherds of the familiar Roman types. Along the east side for over 100 m. runs a fine wall of ancient appearance, 1·70 m. thick (Pl. Vc) ; it has an inner and an outer face, the space between being filled with rubble and frequent cross-blocks, or headers, almost as long as the wall is wide. The style is polygonal, with an approach to coursing in a few places only ; the blocks are of average

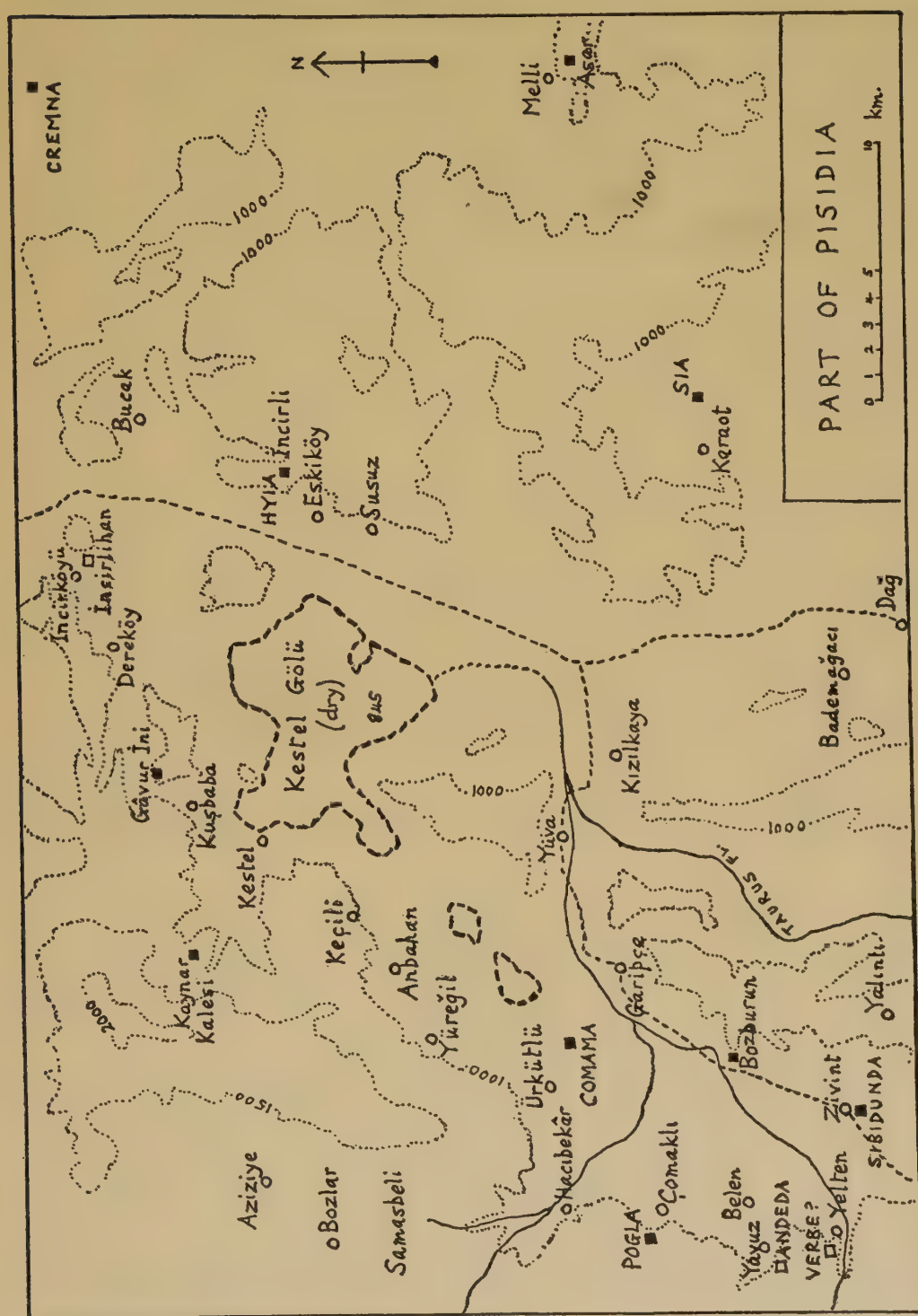


FIG. 1.
 ■ Ancient sites, precise location uncertain.
 ○ Modern towns and villages.
 --- Modern chaussée.
 . . . 500 metre contours.

size, or perhaps a little larger. I have not seen similar masonry elsewhere in the region ; it is not easy to date, but from its general appearance I should judge it to be pre-Hellenistic.

Just below the summit, on the west side, is the " Infidels' Cave ", which gives its name to the site. This is a handsome rock-tomb (Pl. Vd), with a porch 3·80 m. wide and 2·80 m. deep ; at the back of this is the grave-chamber, 2·18 m. high, 1·65 m. wide, 1·07 m. deep, with arched roof. Above is a sort of pediment, consisting merely of double oblique lines incised on the rock, meeting at an obtuse angle, with a rectangular niche at the apex. The porch is not roofed, but is partially overhung by the rock. 2 m. to the right of the porch and 1 m. above the ground is a niche in the rock 0·90 m. high, 0·70 m. wide, 0·95 m. deep, and in the rock-wall just to the right of this is a small altar in relief, 0·20 m. high, quite plain apart from a moulding at top and bottom.

On a lower summit to the south are two rock-cut sarcophagi, and lying close by is a funeral altar with a badly weathered relief showing two human busts ; no sign of any inscription.

The village of Kuşbaba evidently occupies approximately the site of the ancient city. Water is abundant all up the hillside and remains of antiquity, both stones and sherds, are frequent in all parts of the village and on and around the acropolis. At a spot called Çalca Mahalle, in the upper part of the village, a building of squared blocks with fluted columns has lately been brought to light by digging ; numerous inscribed stones are said to have been dug out, but these are now broken up or lost. At a fountain further up are two uninscribed altars or bases, and higher up still, at another fountain, a sarcophagus lid and a built tomb measuring 6 by 5 m.

92. Kuşbaba, Çalca Mahalle, in a wall beside the road, bottom right-hand corner of a slab with a raised rectangular panel in which is the inscription. Monument and script are both of poor quality.

----- ΛΟΥ
 ---- \NO
 -- ' ΤΡΟΚΟ
 ---- ΠΟC *vac.*

In line 3 we evidently have the name Trokondas.

93. Kuşbaba, *ibidem*, in the same wall, fragment of the lintel of a built tomb 0·40 h., 0·73 w., thickness not ascertainable. Letters 4 cm. high, carefully written.

---- ΝΟΥΜΕΡΙΑΚΡΙΠΤΕΙΝΑ ----
 --- ΓΑΔΙΚΑΙΤΟΓΑΜΒΡΩ Λ' ---
 ----- ΙCOPΩΕΝΗΚΙ -----

Apparently something like : --- Νομερία Κρισπεινα [συνεχώρησεν τῇ --- αὐτῆς Διονυ]σιᾶδι καὶ το γαμβρῶ αὐ[τῆς τῶ δεῖνι ἐνταφῆναι ἐν τ]ῇ σορῶ, ἐν ᾗ κη[δευθήσεται καὶ αὐτή].

This city at Gâvur İni is clearly the one whose Council and People are mentioned in an inscription seen by Ramsay in a cemetery 4 miles N.N.E.

of Kestel.⁴ No real evidence for its ancient name has yet come to light ; it was identified by Ramsay at various times with Codrula, Colbasa and Cormasa, and Kiepert accepts Colbasa with a query. There were never any valid grounds for these identifications and the uncertainty is increased by the discovery of the neighbouring site at Kaynar Kalesi (see below).

The village of Kestel contains a few stones belonging presumably to this same city, but does not itself occupy an ancient site. There are also some traces of antiquity in the area just outside the village on the north-west, notably a rock-cut sarcophagus at Beşiktaş Mevkii and some rock-cuttings in the Deliktaş Deresi ; one of the latter has a female figure incised on the rock-face.

94. Kestel, in the old cemetery beside the school, a block 0.62 h., 0.98 w., more than 0.40 th., broken on the right, with very badly damaged reliefs : from left to right, (1) a bunch of grapes, (2) a human figure, (3) destroyed, (4) another human figure. Inscription above in letters 4.5 cm. high, almost effaced.

ΤΤ/ΙΙΡ Λ ΚΑΙΠΟ

The block appears to have belonged to a monument of some size.

95. Kestel, at the school, said to have been found locally, upper part of a small limestone altar (libanotris) 0.17 h., 0.085 w., 0.08 th., with plain moulding at the top ; saucer-shaped hollow in the upper surface. Inscribed on three sides in letters 9-13 mm. high.

(a) In the middle :

Ἡρακλῆϊ ἐ-
πηκόῳ
θεῷ εὖ-
χὴν Ζω-
σιμίῳ [ν]
Αὐρήλις
Σεκούν-
δης

(b) On the right side :

Οὐαρί-
ας ἀνέσ-
τησεν

(c) On the left side :

τὴν λι-
βανω-
τρίδα
εἰρενύ-
ς διὰ βί-
[ο]υ

The altar is of exactly similar type to those at Burdur (Part I, No. 3), and similarly dedicated by a priest. The names are in unnatural order ; we should expect Αὐρήλις Ζωσιμίων Οὐαρίας Σεκούνδης. The latter name is apparently a metronymic, a rare phenomenon in this region.

KAYNAR KALESİ

In the mountain range to the west of Kestel, the best part of three hours' stiff climb from the shore of the lake, are the ruins of a considerable city not hitherto recorded. The site, now known as Kaynar Kalesi, was visited in 1955 by Miss Barbara Levick, who kindly informed me of its existence, and I paid it a visit in 1957. The ruins occupy a pine-clad hilltop a little below the crest of the range on the east side ; they are lying more or less undisturbed by modern depredations, apart from a number of holes dug by the

⁴ *AJA*. IV (1888), 271, No. 2 = *IGR*. III, 397. I have not visited this cemetery ; but *IGR*. III, 398, is now at the school in Kestel, much damaged and with the left part missing. It was recently taken from a bridge half-way on the road from Kestel to Kuşbaba.

villagers of Kestel in search of treasure.⁵ The summit is enclosed by a rubble wall 1·60 m. thick, surrounding an area perhaps 150 m. long and 80 m. wide ; from this a very solid wall of ashlar masonry runs down the western slope to end at a rocky knoll. In this latter wall blocks measuring 1·60 by 0·55 m., 1·30 by 0·70 m., and similar dimensions, are frequent. Below the summit, on the west, are the ruins of a built tomb, including a pediment block with triglyphs and metopes, and where the present path crosses the line of the wall are numerous rectangular ostothecae, mostly decorated with a door on the short end ; one has a Macedonian shield. All over the upper part of the hill are vast quantities of uncut building stones and some foundations of buildings of squared blocks, but virtually nothing is standing apart from the walls.

On the south-east slope is what appears to have been a sanctuary of Pluto and Core. In a vertical rock-face is a niche 0·75 h., 0·32 w., 0·27 deep, with two dowel-holes in its floor. A little lower down, to the left, a flat-bottomed round hole has been hollowed out of the rock. On the rock-face by the niche are cut the following two inscriptions ; they were seen by Miss Levick, who was good enough to send me her copies of them. I publish them here, with her permission, from my own copies and squeezes. Both are, as usual, of Roman date, no doubt 2nd century.

96. At the left side of the niche ; letters 25–30 mm. high. Squeeze (lower part only), Pl. VIa.

Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη θε-
οῖς ἐπηκόοις Πόπλι-
ος Αἴλιος Μινουκιανὸ[ς]
καὶ Πετρωνία Αἰμιλία
5 Μάρκου θυγάτηρ ἡ σύνβι-
ος αὐτοῦ ἐχαρίσαντο
κατὰ εὐχὴν κοράσιον ὀνό-
ματι Ἱεροδουλίδᾳ, ἣν καὶ
ἐποίησαν ἱεροδούλην, ὥσ-
10 τε ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτὴν τοῖς
θεοῖς · καὶ μηδενὶ ἐξέσ-
τω ἐξαλλοτριῶσαι αὐ-
τὴν μηδὲ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς
τέκνα

97. Below the niche ; letters 17–20 mm. high. Squeeze, Pl. VIb.

Κλωδία Μάνου Ψεκάδος
ἱερόδουλος Πλούτωνος καὶ
Κόρης τὸ χαλκίον ἄγαλμα
ἀνέθηκεν τῇ Κόρῃ ἐκ τῶν ἱ-

⁵ The belief that writing and other marks on ancient stones indicate the position of buried treasure is still widespread in Anatolia, but more deeply rooted at Kestel than anywhere else in my experience. Time and again I was entreated to point out the right places to dig, and was offered a share of the treasure when it was found. In particular, dowel-holes with lead-channel are supposed to point in the direction of the hidden gold.

5 δίων καὶ Ἰαν τὴν θυγατέ-
ρα ἐποίησε καὶ τὰ τέκνα
αὐτῆς

One or two cracks in the rock have been avoided by the lapicide. He has committed several errors in the engraving : in line 2 the *upsilon* of Πλούτωνος was omitted and later inserted small ; in line 5 he went astray in the middle and seems to have written ΙΑΤΑ, subsequently correcting to ΙΑΝ without erasing the ΤΑ ; and the predicate to ἐποίησε, presumably ἱερόδουλον, has been omitted altogether. The bronze statue stood, no doubt, in the niche immediately above the inscription.

ἱερόδουλος is the normal feminine form ; ἱεροδούλη, as in No. 96, line 9, is not recognised by the dictionaries, but occurs in Heberdey-Kalinka *Bericht* 54, No. 79. Ψεκάς is known as a female name ; like the names formed from δρόσος, it suggests softness and gentleness : see Bechtel *HP.* 599. If it is female here also it must be a "mammonymic" ; in this connexion see No. 135 below.

The two girls here dedicated to the service of the gods are both slaves : the mother of one is already a hierodule, and the servile status of the other is clear from her name Hierodulis⁶ : she was apparently destined from birth to this service. The dedication of free-born persons as ἱερόδουλοι was in fact very unusual. The girls' attachment to the sanctuary is to be permanent and even extends to the next generation, alienation being prohibited ; similarly in the great Nemrud Dağı inscription, *OGI.* 383, the king provides (lines 171 sqq.) : μηθὲν δὲ ὅσιον ἔστω . . . τούτους ἱεροδούλους . . . μηδὲ μὴν παῖδας ἐκγόνους τε ἐκείνων, οἵτινες ἂν ἐν ἅπαντι χρόνῳ τοῦτο γένος διαδέχωνται, μήτε αὐτῶι καταδουλώσασθαι μήτε εἰς ἕτερον ἀπαλλοτριῶσαι τρόπῳι μηδενί. In the inscription from Oenoanda mentioned above (Heberdey-Kalinka No. 79) it is laid down : καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω μηθὲν ἀντιποιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ καθ' οὐδένᾳ τρόπῳ, under pain of a curse and a fine of 500 drachmae.⁷

A cult of Pluto and Core in this region was already known from an ex-voto dedication at Gâvur Ören (Ramsay *CB.* I, 339, No. 188) : Μένανδρος Τρωίλου Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη εὐχὴν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν. Ramsay's interpretation, that this is the dedication of an heroon, is now (to say the least) unnecessary : a tomb is surely a strange form of votive offering.⁸

One would wish to know what form the sanctuary took : was it just an open enclosure on the steep hillside in front of the inscribed rock-face ? On this point I could form no satisfactory opinion, as the whole of the ground below the niche had been cleared down to the solid rock by the villagers since Miss Levick's visit ; if there was such an enclosure, it can only have been very small. But immediately above the rock-face are the jumbled ruins of a large building constructed of squared blocks with

⁶ The term κοράσιον is also commonly, though not invariably, used of a slave-girl.

⁷ In this inscription the editors understand that a free man dedicated his two daughters, τὰς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας (*sic*), as hierodules of Meter Oreia ; but it is surely more probable that παῖς here means "slave".

⁸ A dedication at Kağlıcik to Ζεὺς Πλούτων (Smith *JHS.* VIII, 249, No. 27 = Ramsay *CB.* I, No. 110) has evidently no connexion with our sanctuary.

ornamented epistyle fragments ; it seems not unlikely that this is a temple of Pluto and Core.

Below the city on the south is a small plain called Kaynar Alanı, with a spring of water. Here, on an outcrop of rock, is a well-executed relief of the Dioscuri and "Helen", with pediment above containing (apparently) an eagle. On another face of the same rock is a relief of a single horseman with cloak flowing from his shoulders. From here a path leads down to Kestel ; in at least one place it is supported by terracing and it is likely that the ancient road passed this way.

The city's territory lay probably on the higher ground to the west, where there is said to be extensive flat land ; the low ground by Lake Kestel is dominated by the city at Kuşbaba. To the ancient name of the city at Kaynar I found no clue whatever. Coins seem to be scarce ; at least none were shown to me. The principal cities which appear to have lain in this region and which still remain unidentified are Colbasa, Cretopolis and Codrula. Of these Cretopolis is improbable, or even excluded (see below, p. 52) ; that the sites at Kaynar and Kuşbaba comprise between them Colbasa and Codrula is possible, but quite unproved.⁹

98. Somewhere in the hills between here and Burdur, carved high up on a rock, is the talisman against the evil eye shown in Pl. XIIc.¹⁰ The representation is of familiar type, and shows the eye attacked by a variety of hostile agencies : at the bottom a dagger, then a snake, a crab, a spear and a scorpion. The half-effaced object at the bottom right I do not recognise. Above is the inscription :—

βάσκανε,
καὶ σύ ΠΑ
X

For the formula καὶ σύ in connexion with a similar apotropaic representation of the evil eye see *IGLS*. III, 874-5, with the commentary and references there given ; for an illustration, see F. Cumont *Les Religions Orientales* 172, Pl. XV, 1. The following letters ΠΑ X are obscure to me.

Between Kestel and Ürkütlü (Comama) no ancient site is known, but the cemetery at Keçili contains numerous ancient blocks ; they include epistyle blocks, a "theatre-seat" with lions' paws¹¹ and a number of tombstones. These last carry the familiar reliefs—human figures, ear of corn, wreath, bucranium, bunch of grapes—but nearly all are badly weathered. One bears an inscription almost obliterated ; I could read only NHMOY, apparently [γυ]νή μου. Another cemetery 40 minutes from Keçili, on the road to Anbahan, contains ancient stones, but none of any consequence. At Anbahan I found nothing. Yüreğil is a larger village, pleasantly situated on the lowest slopes looking eastwards over the valley.

⁹ I was shown a bronze of Codrula at Zivint (below, p. 69, n. 57). For another possibility concerning Codrula see below, p. 79-80.

¹⁰ The photograph was given to me by my friend İbrahim Şadi Balaban ; his informant was not willing to reveal the exact location of the relief.

¹¹ No doubt in reality the base of a tomb or other monument : cf. Part I, p. 92.

99. Yüreğil, in the staircase of the house of Ahmet Ayan, altar with plain mouldings only, 0·94 h., 0·36 w., about 0·36 th. Letters 3 cm. high.

Αὐρήλις
Ἐπείκτητο[s]
καὶ Αὐρηλία
Εἰρήνη Νίκη
5 θυγατρὶ μνή-
μης χάρις (*sic*)
κὲ αἰαυτοῖς

100. Yüreğil, in the wall of the cemetery, a plain block 0·65 h., 0·90 w., thickness not ascertainable. The writing, in careful script with numerous ligatures, 28–30 mm. high, covers the entire face of the block. Photograph, Pl. VI*d*.

[. . .] ὄρξαντα τὴν τε πρῶτην δυνανδρ[ί]-
αν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπώνυμον πενταετηρι-
[κ]ὴν δυνανδρίαν, ἀρχιερασά[μ]ενον τῶν Σεβα[σ]-
τῶν ἐνδόξως καὶ φιλοτίμως, εἰρηναρχήσαν-
5 τα, καὶ πάσας τὰς πρεπούσας τῷ ἀξιώματι αὐτο[ῦ]
ἀρχᾶς καὶ λειτουργίας ἐκτελέσαντα μεγαλοπρε-
πῶς, ἔτι καὶ ἐπιδόντα καὶ εἰς αἰωνίαν νέμεισ[ιν]
τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου δηναρίω[ν]
μυριάδας τρεῖς, ἔτι τε εἰς ἐπισκευὴν καὶ σκούτλω-
10 σιν τοῦ ἐν Κρητωπόλει βαλαγείου δηνάρια τετρα-
κισχίλια, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ εἰς νέμεισιν τῇ ἐτέρᾳ αὐτοῦ π[α]-
[τρίδι -----]

The writer has been at pains to vary the monotony of the normal repeated καὶ by the use of ἀλλὰ καί, ἔτι καί, ἔτι τε, and even ἀλλὰ μὴν καί.

Line 8. κεφαλαίου (objective genitive after νέμεισιν), not κεφάλαιον.

From the mention of the duumvirate in lines 1–3 it is evident that this inscription belongs to the Roman colony of Comama rather more than an hour distant to the south ; dating by the quinquennial duumvirs is familiar (e.g. Dessau 4902, 6580). For the πρώτη δυνανδρία cf. *IIVir primus col(oniae)* at Iconium (Dessau 9414). The meaning of the expression is not clear ; at Iconium it might perhaps denote the first holder of the office of duumvir (so Dessau) ; but it is evident from the style of the script that this cannot be the meaning in the present case.¹²

Line 7. νέμεισις (cf. διανέμεισις in No. 105 below) is less familiar than διανομή in the sense of a cash distribution to the citizens, or to certain classes of them. For the wording of the text, cf. *TAM.* III, 109, ἐπιδόντα δὲ καὶ εἰς αἰώνιον νέμεισιν ἀργυρίου κεφαλαίου (δηναρίων) μυριάδας δεκαέξ.¹³ The “ sum ”

¹² The colony was founded about 25 B.C., but our inscription cannot be earlier than the 2nd century. It looks as if πρώτη and *primus* may denote precedence in rank rather than in time.

¹³ The difference between the sums, three and sixteen myriads of denaria, might well correspond to the difference in size between Comama and Termessus, each being calculated to provide one denarius per annum to each citizen. But this cannot, of course, be relied upon.

(κεφάλαιον) might be either the amount of the interest which accrues for distribution, or the amount distributed to each recipient; there seems no evidence that κεφάλαιον could bear the meaning "capitation grant", even though that is, of course, intended here.

The inscription is interesting for its mention in line 10 of the city of Cretopolis, of which this is the first epigraphical occurrence. This city is recorded by Ptolemy, but not by Hierocles, nor are any coins known, and the site is still undetermined. From its mention here it is a reasonable inference that it was not unduly far from Comama,¹⁴ and this agrees well with such other information as we have. In Diodorus XVIII, 44 (319 B.C.), Antigonos, marching from Cappadocia to Pisidia against Alcetas, arrives at Cretopolis, as he does again later (ch. 47) when returning from Termessus to Phrygia. In Polybius V, 72, Garsyeris, sent by Achaeus to relieve Pednelissus, marches into the Milyas (from the north) and camps near Cretopolis. From these passages it appears that from north, east and south one arrived naturally at Cretopolis, which accordingly cannot have been far removed from the main highway. Secluded sites, such as those at Kaynar Kalesi (above, p. 47) or Melli (below, p. 76), are not to be considered for Cretopolis. The plain of Bucak is the meeting-point not only of the roads from Phrygia in the north and Pamphylia in the south (the modern Burdur-Antalya highroad), but also of the easy and important route from Lycia by Isinda and of the more difficult road from Cremna, Adada and the east. Of the sites at present known but lacking a name, therefore, by far the most suitable would appear to be that at Incirlihan, which has, in fact, been identified with Cretopolis by Kiepert and others. Incirlihan lies actually on the line of the old highroad which preceded the present chaussée. I visited it in 1958 and again in 1959, but was not able to locate any precise site which seemed to be that of an ancient city. The evidence for it, so far as I can discover, is as follows. General Koehler, early in the 19th century, saw by a *han* north of Kestel Lake (evidently the Incirlihan) the ruins of a large ancient building.¹⁵ A century later Rott visited Incirlihan and observed that "ringsum zerstreute Trümmerstücke weisen deutlich auf eine antike Stätte hin"; and in a hypocaust recently excavated by the villagers a stone had been found bearing an ex-voto dedication to Demeter.¹⁶ My own impression was that the fountain and other structures now visible belong in all probability to the *han*. If Koehler's large building is to be identified with the handsome wall of squared blocks some 20 m. from the entrance to the *han*, I doubt very much whether it is truly ancient and not rather a terrace-wall supporting a level space before the doorway of the *han*; its blocks are similar to those of the *han* itself. The site is a very poor one, down in the valley, and I could learn

¹⁴ The honorand repaired the baths at Cretopolis and this is thought worthy of record in an inscription of Comama. That Cretopolis was, in fact, his "second fatherland" (line 11), Comama being the first, is an evident possibility.

¹⁵ Ritter *Erdkunde* XIX, 706, adding that Leake took this to be the site of Lysinoe. But in the passage quoted (*Asia Minor* 151) Leake conjectures, rightly as it now turns out, that Lysinoe (Lysinia) was on the Lake of Burdur.

¹⁶ Rott *Kleinas. Denkmäler* 21, and 360, No. 51.

of no ruins on the hills above ; and in particular, no one seems to have seen the sherds which normally mark an ancient city-site. That there was something here in antiquity is hardly doubtful, but there is room for uncertainty whether it was really a city.¹⁷ On the other hand, the site is no worse than those of Andeda and Verbe, or even Cormasa ; unwallled cities are common enough in these parts ; and as for the sherds, I may simply have overlooked them. If there was, in fact, a city here, I should suppose it highly likely that it is Cretopolis ; more may have been visible fifty or a hundred years ago, but on the spot I must confess that I was unconvinced.¹⁸ If the identity of Cretopolis with the city of the Ceraitae be accepted, a site near Cremna is appropriate, since a coin is known on which Κρημνέων καὶ Κεραιετῶν are coupled together.¹⁹

The name of the city is given by Polybius and Diodorus as Κρητῶν πόλις, by Ptolemy as Κρητόπολις. Our present inscription gives a form halfway between these two, but it seems doubtful whether it can be correct.²⁰

Ptolemy locates Cretopolis in a position W.N.W. of Termessus, corresponding approximately to the actual position of Olbasa ; Olbasa, on the other hand, he places in the region west of Cremna—in the neighbourhood, that is, of Incirlihan. This is presumably no more than a coincidence ; but if Olbasa and Cretopolis could be transposed, Ptolemy's map would gain greatly in general accuracy. As a matter of interest, I append in Fig. 2 a diagram showing Ptolemy's locations in this part of Pisidia as compared with the true positions.²¹ It will be seen that, in spite of several bad misplacements, the overall picture bears a very recognisable resemblance to the truth.²² The impression received is that Ptolemy's placements cannot be altogether disregarded.

COMAMA

The site of Comama by the fountain of Şerefönü, between Ürkütlü and Garipçe, is well established by inscriptions found on the spot. The colony, in striking contrast to those of Cremna and Olbasa, lay on and around a low hill, hardly more than a mound, and was totally devoid of any fortification. Rather than a military colony designed to hold the unruly Pisidian mountaineers in subjection, we seem to have (as Miss Levick expressed it to me) a market town spreading Roman influence by peaceful means along the important routes which converge in the neighbourhood.

¹⁷ Rott also speaks only of a " Stätte ", not a " Stadt ".

¹⁸ In any case, Incirlihan is to be carefully distinguished from Incirli, the site of Hyia south of Bucak : see below, p. 80.

¹⁹ On this question see *BMC Lycia* xcix, Jones *CERP.* 126.

²⁰ If, on the other hand, it is an error, it is the only one on the stone.

²¹ The grid in Fig. 2 may not be entirely accurate, but the general picture is not, I think, seriously distorted.

²² An extraordinary feature is the total omission of Sagalassus. Ptolemy has a Sagalassus in Lycia, close to Corydalla and Rhodiapolis ; but this, as was pointed out by Jones *CERP.* 406, n. 19, is surely an error for Acalissus. Some of Ptolemy's towns, notably Uranopolis, Milyas and Corbasa, are otherwise totally unknown.



(a) Ptolemy's locations in Pisidia.



(b) Actual positions, certain or highly probable.

FIG. 2.

101. Ürkütlü, in a street in the village, a block 0·80 h., 0·80 w., 0·18 th., with decorated border, broken on the left. Inscription in a panel ; letters 32–35 mm. high.

Λ. Ἰούλιος Μαγνια-
νὸς Θάλλος (*leaf*)
οἰκονόμος
ζῶν ἑαυτῷ τὸ
5 ἀγγεῖον κατεσκεύ-
ασεν καὶ τοῖς τέκνο
αὐτοῦ μνήμης
[κ]αὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ
χάριν

Line 3 and the last two letters of line 6 have been inserted small between the lines. Line 8 was added later on the sloping edge of the frame. For other οἰκονόμοι see Part I, Nos. 52 and 63.

102. Şerefönü, lying on the hillside, a damaged base 1·11 h., 0·53 w., at least 0·57 th. ; upper surface buried. Letters 27–30 mm. high. Faultily published by Ramsay *AJA*. IV, 263, No. 4 = *IGR*. III, 402.

[τ]ῷ οἴκῳ τῶν Σεβαστ[ῶν]
[-----]
[---] τὸ ἄγα(λ)μα τῆς
[βο]υ[λ]ῆς καὶ ὁ ναὸς ἀπηρ-
5 [τί]σθη ἐξ ὑπαρχόν-
[τ]ων Ἀττικοῦ Δείου
κατὰ διαθήκην

Line 1 is the beginning of the inscription ; there is no erasure above.

Line 3. ΑΓΑΜΑ lapis. [αὶ σ]τοαὶ ἅμα τῆς | [π]ύλης Ramsay.

The erection of a statue of the city Council (as also of the Roman Senate) is, of course, familiar ; at Side the Council and People severally honour each other with statues erected by the Gerusia (1947 *Önrapor* Nos. 10 and 11). The Council is also frequently represented in human form on coins.

For another inscription of Comama see Part I, No. 5.

POGLA

The site of Pogla at Çomaklı has long been fixed beyond reasonable doubt, though not actually proved hitherto by any inscription found on the spot. The old name of the village, Fiğla or Fuğla, evidently preserves the ancient name.²³ The city is recorded by Ptolemy and placed with very tolerable accuracy (see Fig. 2) ; Hierocles also has it, in the corrupt form δήμου Σώκλα.^{23a} This latter entry shows, as Jones pointed out (*CERP*. 144), that its status had fallen at that period. Otherwise Pogla has no history apart

²³ It is not, however, unique on the map of Turkey ; there is a Fuğla Tepe in the Troad.

^{23a} For the rather unexpected corruption of Π to Σ compare (almost certainly) Σάσανδα for Πάσανδα in *Diod. Sic.* XIV 79 ; see Robert *Ét. Anat.* 504, n 2, *ATL*. I, 532, n.3.

from what has been inferred from an inscription found there (republished below, No. 104).

For so obscure a city the extant remains, and particularly the inscriptions, are surprisingly abundant. The acropolis hill, perhaps 120 m. high, is immediately above the village on the west. The line of a ring-wall is traceable, in a rough polygonal masonry, 1·8 to 2 m. thick ; but no more than a single course is anywhere visible.²⁴ The space enclosed is about 150 m. long and barely 100 m. wide ; the summit has been much dug over by the villagers and numerous bases, columns and architectural fragments have been removed to the village. On the south side, a little below the wall, are four irregular rows of rock-cut seats or steps of uncertain purpose.²⁵ Sherds of the familiar Roman types are abundant on the hill, both inside and outside the wall. Near the foot of the east slope, towards the village, are the ruins of a built tomb approached by a flight of four rock-cut steps ; across the dip from here, in the highest part of the village, is a similar tomb with steps.

In the middle of the village stands an angle of a massive building, of solid but not very elegant masonry of the Roman period, still 7–8 m. high in parts (Pl. VIIa). At the end, entered by an arched doorway, is a long rectangular chamber with corbelled roof, now underground ; it contains water, but this has been introduced in recent times to form a cistern. The building might be a market-hall or something similar. On the slope across the road from the school is the lower part of a solid and handsome mausoleum, measuring 6·80 by 5·30 m., raised on three steps (Pl. VIIb). Others similar stand at intervals in the plain, apparently marking the line of a road from Pogla to Comama.

The village is full of sculptured and inscribed stones ; a considerable number have been described by previous travellers. A few have been collected at the school ; these include : (i) a relief of a horseman deity (Pl. VIIIa) 0·20 h., 0·18 w., 0·05 th., of Kakasbos type but not apparently Kakasbos himself²⁶ : (ii) a relief 0·21 h., 0·17 w., 0·08 th., of Cybele seated facing on a throne, with a lion at each side on which her hands rest (Pl. VIIIb). At the house of Ali Türker is the lower half of a female statue of excellent marble, rather over life-size, apparently of Roman date ; the oval base is hollowed underneath. I saw also several uninscribed tombstones with reliefs of normal types, divided horizontally in some cases into two or more panels (cf. No. 109 below).

103. Çomaklı (Fuğla), at house no. 189, damaged limestone stele 0·76 h., 0·44 w., 0·11 th., lacking the top right and bottom left corners ; the stone has been

²⁴ Unlike the cities of the Lysis valley (except Olbasa : see Part I, p. 78), those on the east side of the central mountain-range are mostly fortified in the usual way ; see above Kuşbaba and Kaynar Kalesi, and below Melli, Karaot (Sia) and Incirli (Hyia). On the other hand, Comama, Andeda and Sibidunda seem not to have been defended by any fortification-wall.

²⁵ My guide said he had seen one or two words of writing on these steps, but we could not find them. Possibly casual marks on the rock had been mistaken for writing, as often happens.

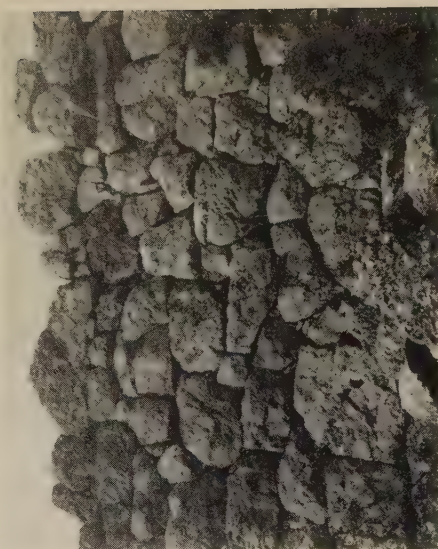
²⁶ Though Kakasbos occurs at Pogla ; see No. 107 below.



(a) Çineovası : Fortification wall.



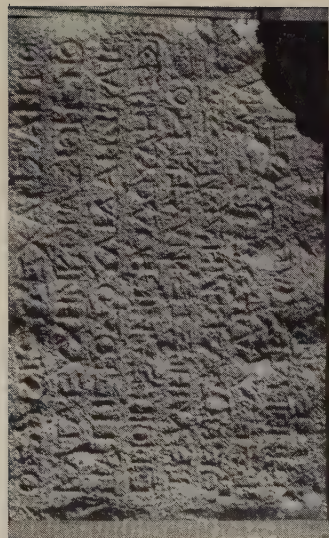
(b) Çineovası : Altar (?).



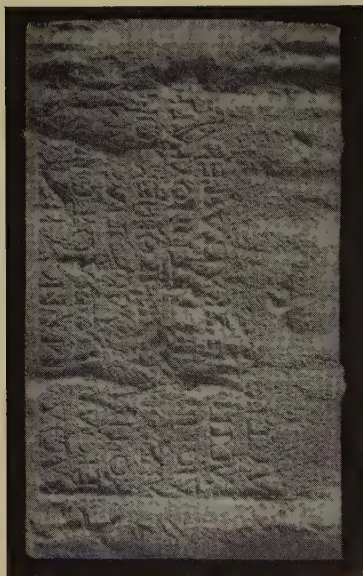
(c) Kuşbaba : Fortification wall.



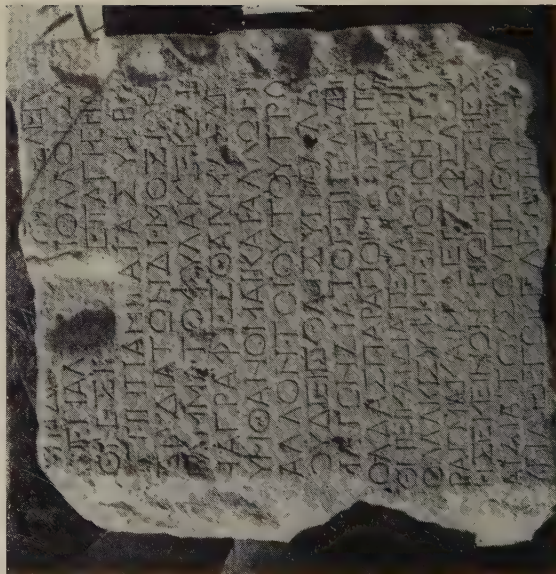
(d) Kuşbaba : Gâvur İni.



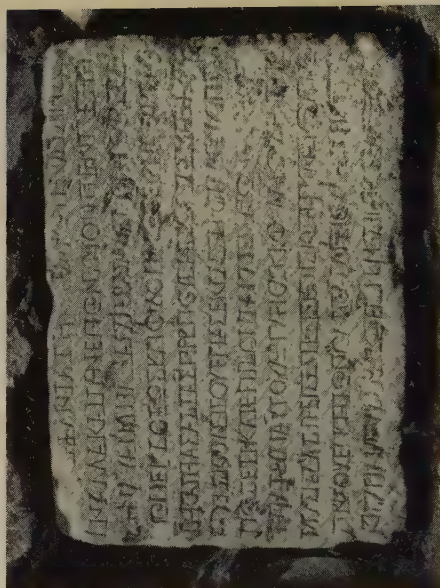
(a) Kaynar Kalesi : inscription no. 96.



(b) Kaynar Kalesi : inscription no. 97.



(c) Sibidunda : inscription no. 124.



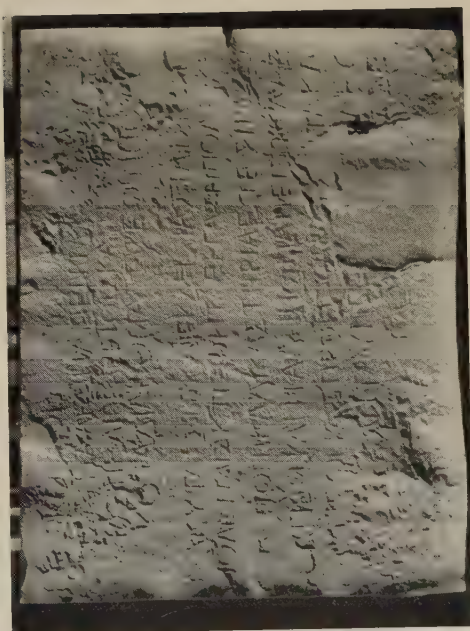
(d) Yüregil : inscription no. 100.



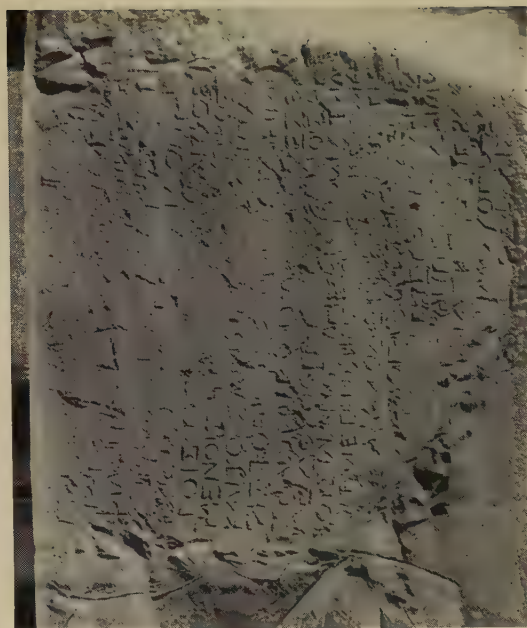
(a) Pogla : large building.



(b) Pogla : mausoleum.



(c) Pogla : inscription no. 104.



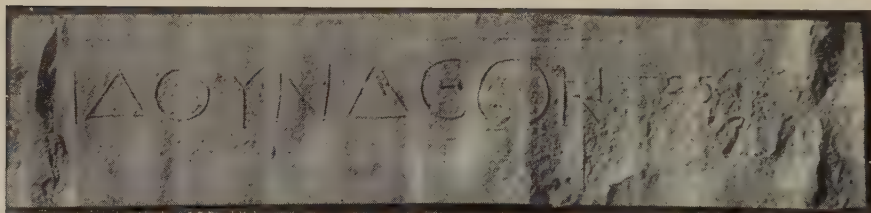
(d) Pogla : inscription no. 103.



(a) Pogla : figure of horseman deity.



(b) Pogla : figure of Cybele.



(c) Sibidunda : inscription no. 120.



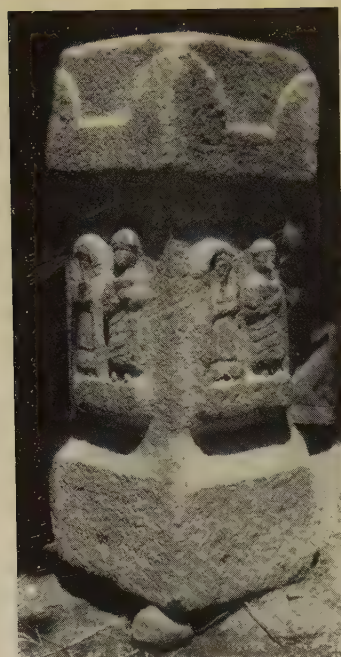
(d) Pogla : inscription no. 108.



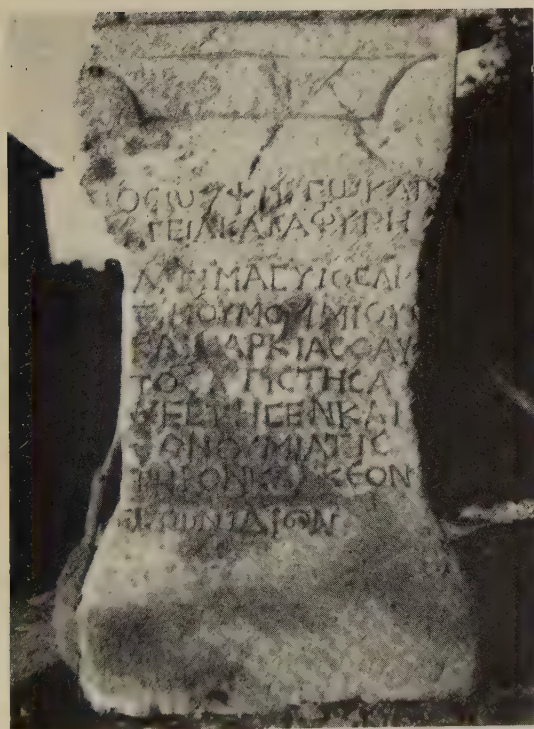
(e) Pogla : inscription no. 113.



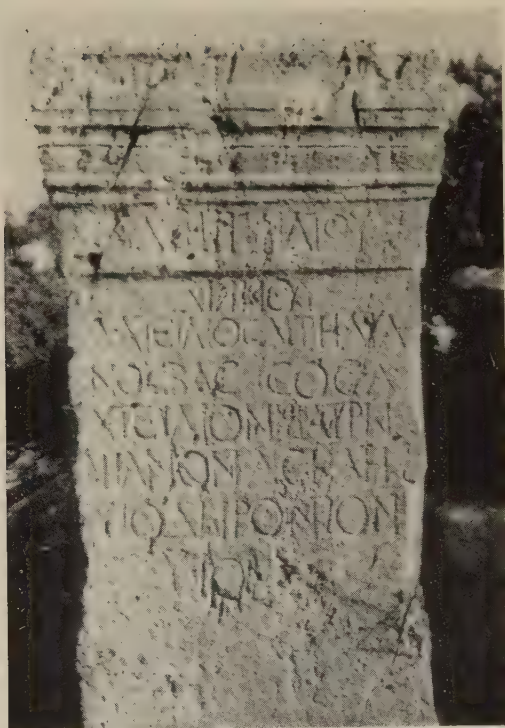
(a) Pogla : inscription no. 109.



(b) Pogla : inscription no. 114.



(c) Sibidunda : inscription no. 122.



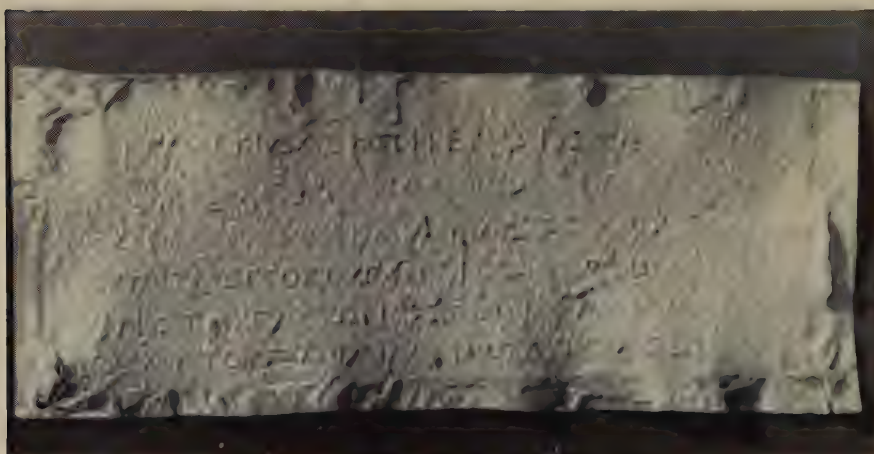
(d) Hyia : inscription no. 134.



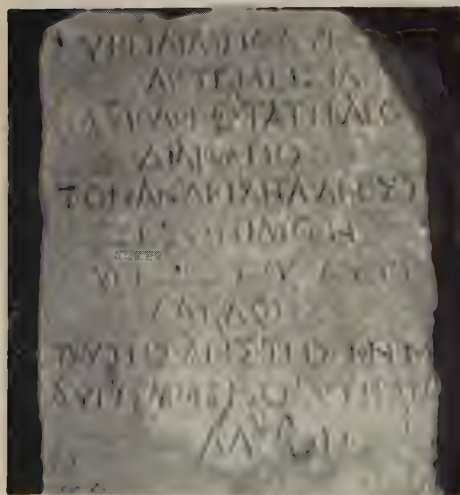
(a) Andeda : Boundary stone.



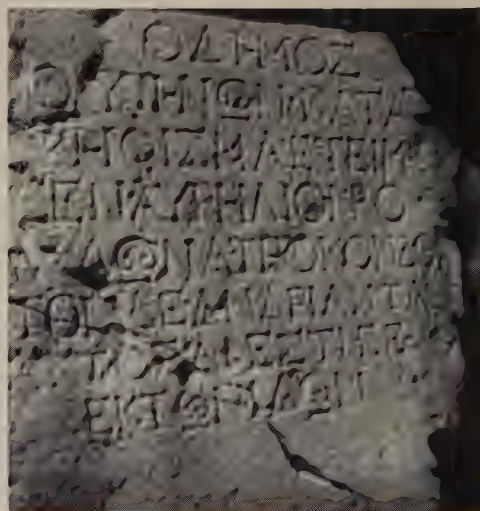
(b) Melli : Ring-wall.



(c) Sibidunda : inscription no. 125.



(d) Melli : inscription no. 130.



(e) Hyia : inscription no. 133.



(b) Sia : Council-house (?).



(d) Sia : Built tomb.



(a) Sia : Ruins of the city.



(c) Melli : Building below the Theatre.



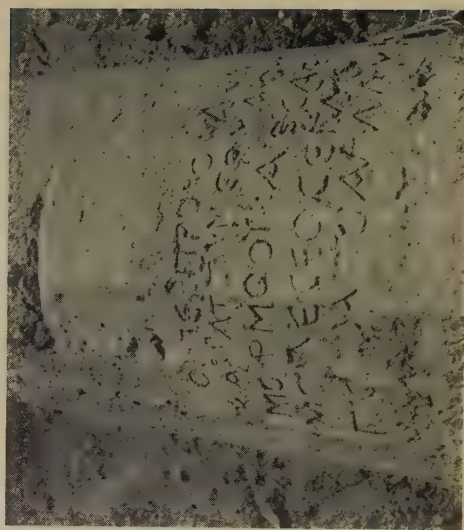
(a) Hyia : Ring-wall.



(b) Hyia : Rock-wall with niches.



(c) No. 98 : Representation of the Evil Eye.



(d) Sibidunda : Inscription no. 121.

in use as a washing-board and a great part of the writing is totally effaced and the rest much worn. Hellenistic script, 13-18 mm. high. Squeeze (lower part only), Pl. VII*d*.

ΩΝ -----
 . ΛΛΛΓ -----
 ΤΩΝ -----
 ΤΩΡ -----
 5 ΜΕ -----
 ΑΡΕΤ -----
 ΝΟΜΩ -----
 ΝΩΝ -----
 ΠΡΑΓΟΥΣ -----
 10 ΥΠΕΡΤ -----
 ΜΕΝΠ -----
 ΚΑΤΩ -----
 ΓΙΛΑΤ -----
 ΤΩΝ ----- ΤΑΛΩ . . .
 15 ΠΡΟΣ ----- ήγουμ[έ]-
 νων Ε . . Σ ----- περί [τὸν ?]
 Φιλωνίδ[ην -----]ΜΗΚΑΣ . . .
 ΖΗΝΟ . Ε . Τ ----- ΙΟΥΚΑΤΑΞΙ . .
 ΤΨΕΝΟΝΤΑ ----- διδόναι
 20 τοῖς Τ --- Λ ----- Α προε[λο]-
 μένοις ----- ΟΥ πρὸς
 καὶ ΤΟ . ΣΛ . . . ΙΟ . Σ ----- οὔντας
 εἰς τὸ εὐχ[ά]ριστον τοῦ δήμου
 ζηλωταὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γενέσθαι·
 25 δεδόχθαι τῇ[ι πόλει κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄρ-
 χουσιν ἀναστῆσαι αὐτῷ στήλη[ν]
 [έ]ν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ καὶ
 [ἀναγ]ράψαι τόδε τὸ ψή[φ]ισμα, ὅτι ὁ
 [δῆμος] ὁ Πρωγλέων ἐτείμησεν ΙΑΞ
 30 [-----]ντος κινδυν[ευκό]-
 [τα ἐν στρατ]εῖαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου·
 [ἐπιμεληθῆν]αι δὲ καὶ τ[ὸ]ν γρα[μ]-
 [ματέα τοῦ δ]ήμου ὅπως κα[ὶ]
 [ἀντίγραφον] ἐσφραγισμέ-
 35 [νον ἀποσταλῆι ? -----]

Line 19. The first letter is apparently *tau*; the second is partly damaged, but its angular shape is clear. *phi* would be possible, but *phi* has elsewhere its normal rounded form. Line 22. Perhaps καὶ το[ῖ]ς λ[οι]πο[ῖ]ς or καὶ το[ῦ]ς λ[οι]πο[ῦ]ς. Line 23. Apparently εὐχάριστον rather than εὐχρηστον, though the latter is hardly excluded. Line 29. Of the letters ΟΠΟ only the upper halves are preserved, but all three are in my opinion certain; *omega* having the form ω, Πρωγλέων is not a possible reading. Line 31. [στρατ]εῖαι was suggested to me by A. M. Woodward. In lines 32-4 the letters are more widely spaced.

This is the only Hellenistic city-decree yet discovered in the Milyas.²⁷ It accordingly throws a fresh light on the political condition of this region in the pre-Roman period. It has been generally accepted that until perhaps the 2nd century A.D. city-status was unknown; Artemidorus' list of Pisidian cities (Part I, p. 67, n. 2) includes none from the Milyas. In this connexion see further below, No. 104.

It would be highly desirable to determine the date of the present inscription. That it is Hellenistic is obvious; but in view of the almost total loss of the narrative portion, we are reduced for a more exact dating to the dangerous criterion of the style of the script. In this respect the most striking feature is perhaps the cursive *omega*, frequently very widely spread. Lunate letters are unusual in the Hellenistic period, especially in formal state documents²⁸: but how far this peculiarity may serve as a dating factor seems very uncertain. The form of *nu* varies a good deal; the right-hand upright is sometimes shorter than the other and tends to diverge to the right. *Pi* has uprights of equal length; *theta* has a complete cross-stroke; *mu* has nearly vertical uprights; *alpha* has the broken crossbar; *sigma* has top and bottom strokes horizontal.²⁹ I should suppose that the 3rd century may safely be excluded, but would not venture to say more.^{29a}

Of lines 1–22 I can make very little. Lines 18–24 seem to contain the normal clause expressing a desire to encourage others, by the award of due honours, to emulate the services of the honorand, but I cannot restore the passage. Before this the text is almost hopeless. The name Philonides is nearly certain in line 17, but the person in question seems unidentifiable. Otherwise only line 14 may be significant. If the letters ΤΑΛΩ, which are reasonably certain, form part of the name Ἀττάλωι (and this is surely the most obvious interpretation) it would be tempting to suppose that the honorand served in the Attalid army, possibly in the campaign of Attalus II against Selge soon after 159 B.C. If I understand line 34 correctly, provision is made in the concluding clause for sending a copy of the decree, authenticated by the city's seal, to notify the honorand's city of the honours

²⁷ Apart from one or two at Termessus. Without entering into the question of what territory was properly included in the Milyas (on which see most recently Magie *Roman Rule* 761–2), I use the term in the sense defined by Strabo 631, that is approximately the area covered by the present article. See Part I, p. 67.

²⁸ L. Robert *REG.* LXIX (1956), 159, *Bull. Epigr.* No. 244, notes that “l'épigraphie funéraire de Myrina montre des formes lunaires dès l'époque Hellénistique”. None are cited by Welles *Roy. Corr.* li. I add some other early examples which I have noted. In iv B.C.: *Inscr. Lindos* No. 41 (C), with Blinkenberg's note; and see *IOSPE.* I¹, p. 40. In ii B.C.: *Sardis* VII, Nos. 21 (E, C), 106 (C, ω, if correctly dated), and in northern Asia Minor, *Stud. Pont.* III, p. 118. In i B.C.: *I.v. Priene* 142 (ω), *Sardis* VII, Nos. 125–7 (E, C, ω). It seems that C made its appearance in Asia rather earlier than E and ω.

²⁹ I am at a loss what to make of the peculiar second letter in line 19. In Pamphylian *μ* is some kind of sibilant, but whether it may be so here also I do not know, as I cannot recognise the word to which it belongs.

^{29a} The absence of any texts of similar date from the neighbourhood makes a decision on these grounds highly precarious. I may recall the case of the Araxa inscription that I published in *JHS.* LXVIII (1948), 46, No. 11, in which the general quality of the script is not unlike the present. Opinions as to its date have varied considerably, but have tended on the whole to favour the early 2nd century.

conferred on him.³⁰ In this case the honorand is not a citizen of Pogla ; he may perhaps have joined a contingent from Pogla serving under Attalus, since the Milyas was at that time part of the Attalid kingdom. But I should not wish to press this suggestion ; the letters ΤΑΛΩ may be capable of some quite different explanation.³¹

The name of the honorand in lines 29–30 is mostly lost,³² but consists evidently of a name and a patronymic ; there is no question of a Roman name. The spelling Πογλέων in line 29 seems beyond doubt ; in the Roman period it is regularly spelt with an *omega*. The variation no doubt represents some uncertainty in the representation of an Anatolian vowel-sound.

104. Çomaklı, at a house in the village near the coffee-houses, in the wall of a low basement now used as a fowl-run, is the inscription published by Rostowzew in *Öjh.* IV (1901), Beibl. 38–46. The stone is awkwardly situated, the place being dark, dirty and wretchedly cramped, and my squeeze may have missed a few letters which are still legible at the edges. I reprint the text from my own squeeze, including a few changes from the published version ; the letters underlined are given by the editor as being visible on the stone. Squeeze, Pl. VIIc.

[Πόπλι]ο[ν ?] Καίλ[ι]ον (?) Λουκα[νόν ? ἀγω]-
 [νοθε]τήσαντα ἀγῶνα πεντα[ετηρικόν ἐ]-
 [πὶ ἄ]νδριᾶσιν καὶ βραβείοις καὶ τειμή[μα]σ[ιν, ἐ]-
 [πιδ]εδωκότα διανομὰς ἔτεσιν πολ[ε]ιτείας]
 5 [β]ουλευταῖς τε καὶ ἐκλησιασταῖς κ[αὶ] πᾶ[σι]-
 [σι] πολείταις, κτίζοντα ἔργα τῇ πόλει, κρε[ῖ]-
 [ν]οντα τοπικὰ δικαστήρια ἔτεσιν κ[οι]νω[ν]-
 [νίας], πέμψαντα ἄννωναν εἰς τὸ Ἀλε[ξ]αν-
 [δ]ρέων ἔθνος, προηγορήσ[αν]τα καὶ
 10 [σ]υν[δικήσ]αντα ὑπὲρ τῆς πό[λε]ως,
 γέν[ους τοῦ] πρῶ[του]ντος ἐν
 τῇ πατρίδι

Line 1. All three names appear to me to be dubious. For the cognomen R. prefers Λουκιανόν.

Lines 2–3. [σύν τε] ἀνδριᾶσιν R. I restore [ἐπὶ] ἀνδριᾶσιν on the strength of No. 105 below. Line 3 fin. καὶ τειμη[θέντα β' ?] R., but in this inscription the participles are not coupled by καί. Of the *sigma* the upper horizontal stroke remains. I am not aware of any other case of τίμημα used in a similar context ; I presume it means that the agonothete defrayed the general expenses of the games, in addition to providing special prizes.

³⁰ For this normal practice, c.f. *IG.* XII, 5, 840 (Tenos) : ἵνα δὲ καὶ ἱερα[πύτνιοι] εἰδῶσιν τὰ ἐψηφισμένα Ἀμφερωνίδα, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποστεῖλαι εἰς ἱεραπύτναν τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα σφραγισμένους τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι ; *ib.* 653 (*Syros*) : οἱ πρυτάνεις ἐπιμελὲς ποιησάσθωσαν ἀντιγραφάμενοι ὅπως ἐξαποστείλωσιν τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Σιφνίων, σφραγισάμενοι τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι.

³¹ They might, for example, be part of the word ἀποσταλῶσιν. But the possibilities are hardly numerous.

³² Ἰάσ[ονα] would be possible, but not more than a possibility.

Line 10. [πρεσβεύσα]ντα R., but the letters YN are clear. The new reading removes any doubt about the restoration ὑπέ[ρ τῆς πό]λεως: the fragmentary upright stroke before -λεως (suggesting βασιλέως) is evidently illusory.

Line 11 init. The restoration hardly fills the available space, but the phrase is a standard one and the reading is scarcely doubtful.

The particular interest of the inscription centres around the expressions ἔτεσιν πολειτείας and ἔτεσιν κοινωνίας. These were taken by Rostowzew to refer to the political status of Pogla: κοινωνία will then denote its earlier condition as a member of a κοινόν,³³ and πολειτεία its later rank as a *polis*. The transition, marking the first appearance of these Milyadic towns as cities, would then be dated approximately by the inscription, which is likely to be of the 2nd century A.D. This view is accepted by A. H. M. Jones in *CERP*. 143-4. A different explanation was, however, suggested by A. Wilhelm in *Glotta* XIV, 81-2, namely that πολειτεία refers not to the status of the city but to the honorand's occupation of public office: "in the years when he held office." Wilhelm then places a comma after δικαστήρια and takes ἔτεσιν κοινωνίας with what follows, κοινωνία denoting "Kollekte als Zeichen der Teilnahme", as in the *Epistle to the Romans* 15, 26; the meaning then is, as I understand it, that the honorand joined with others in sending relief to Alexandria during a famine of corn, lasting apparently over several years. Magie, *Roman Rule* 1317, seems disposed to favour this interpretation.

The situation is now altered by the new inscription No. 103 above, from which it appears that in the 1st century B.C. at the latest Pogla was issuing decrees of the type normally passed by a Greek city.^{33a} It seems no longer possible to suppose that city-status was first acquired only in the 2nd century A.D.³⁴ If the contrast between the "years of the city-constitution" and the "years of the league" is to be maintained, the change must have been from the former to the latter—a somewhat startling conception. On the new evidence therefore Wilhelm's interpretation is apparently to be preferred.³⁵

That Pogla should appear in the Hellenistic period as a city is interesting, but not in itself surprising. Strabo 570 quotes from Artemidorus a list of thirteen Pisidian *poleis*, many of them small and obscure places. It had, however, seemed hitherto that the towns of the Milyas had not the standing of cities, partly because Artemidorus' list touches only the fringes

³³ Possibly the *commune Milyadum* mentioned by Cicero *Verr.* I, 95; see Jones *CERP*. 143-4.

^{33a} It is issued by "the people of Pogla" in line 29, by the "city and magistrates" in line 25.

³⁴ Prof. A. H. M. Jones, when I first showed him the text of No. 103, suggested to me that δῆμος may here denote a community of lower grade than a city; Hierocles, at a much later date, records a number of δῆμοι in these parts, including Pogla itself (δήμου Σώκλα). The *commune Milyadum* would then be a κοινόν of these δῆμοι, and the old view could be maintained. But I feel sure that this cannot be right: in line 25 the *eta* is clear, necessitating τῇ[ι πόλει], and city-status must be admitted.

³⁵ The possibility of reading merely ἔτεσιν πολ[λοῖς] in No. 104, line 4, does not seem to have been considered.

of this region, and partly because of the *commune Milyadum* mentioned by Cicero about 80 B.C. This latter was surely not a league of *cities*; but there is no reason why it should be incompatible with the existence of cities here and there; we need not suppose they were at all numerous.

For the constitution and general character of these Pisidian *poleis* in Hellenistic times a certain amount of evidence was already available.³⁶ The letter of Attalus to Amlada about 160 B.C. is addressed 'Αμλαδέων τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς γεραιοῖς, suggesting a primitive form of Greek city-constitution in which the government is still in the hands of a council of elders. The alliance between Termessus and Adada, on the other hand, dated some time in the 2nd century, has all the form of a treaty between Greek cities, contracted by the respective *demoi*, and provides (lines 11 sqq.) ἐὰν δέ τις . . . καταλύῃ τοὺς νόμους ἢ τὰς προσόδο[υς ἢ τὴν καθεστῶσαν] δημοκρατείαν ἐν ἑκατέραις τῶν πόλεων. There is accordingly nothing astonishing in a democracy at Pogla; Pogla was in fact far more exposed to Greek influence than Adada; it lies nearer to the Greek cities of Lycia and Pamphylia and is on the easy and important route from Lycia by Isinda to the north. It is also marked out by its site as likely to be a cut above the other towns surrounding this plain³⁷; it is, for example, the only one that has a fortified acropolis.

105. Çomaklı, outside the house of Şefika Sapmaz, a tall base broken into two parts, each part in use as a *dibektaş*. Combined height 1·44 m. (but the two parts do not join), width 0·50 m., thickness 0·50 m. The inscribed surface is broken away on the left. Regular letters 28–35 mm. high.

[ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν]
 [Αὐρ.] Ἀρχελαιανὸν
 [Ἀλέ]ξανδρον, κτίστην,
 [ἀγ]ωνοθέτην τὸ πρῶ-
 5 [τον] δι' αἰῶνος ἐκ τῶν
 [ιδίω]ν ἀγῶνος πεντα-
 [ετη]ρικοῦ Σεραπείου
 [Ἀλε]ξανδρείου υ. ἐπὶ
 [ἀνδρ]ιᾶσιν τρισίν υ.
 10 [καὶ βω]μεῖσιν καὶ βρα-
 [βείοις] καὶ θέμασιν,
 [καταλε]ῖψαντα πρὸς
 [ἐπίδοσιν ?] καὶ διανέμ[η]-
 [σιν - - - - -]
 15 [- - - - - τὸν δὲ ἀν]-
 [δριάντα ἀνέ]στησαν
 [Αὐρρ. ? - - -]να καὶ Ἀλέ-
 [ξανδρο]ς οἱ ἔγγονοι
 [αὐτοῦ,] ἐπιμελησάμέ-

³⁶ TAM. III, 2; OGI. 751 = Welles Roy. Corr. No. 54; see Jones CERP. 131, Greek City 46, Magie Roman Rule 264.

³⁷ Comama, Andeda, Verbe and Sibidunda; see the descriptions of these above and below.

20 [νου Ἀλ]εξανδριανοῦ
 [- - - -]νου τῶν ἀνδριάν-
 [των κα]ὶ τῶν βωμείδων

In line 4 the final *omega* has the form ω , for which cf. Part I, No. 4.

L. 3. κτίστην. The honorand was evidently in fact the founder of the games, which bear his name and of which he was the "perpetual" agonothete (see on No. 130 below); but it is unlikely that κτίστην actually means this. More probably it has its familiar meaning, a benefactor who as it were sets the city on its feet again, a second founder. In line 13 [ἐπίδοσιν] is doubtful, but for the collocation cf. *TAM.* II, 905, II B, διαδόσει καὶ ἐπιδόσει] χρημάτων. For διανέμησις see No. 100 above.

A considerable number of agonistic inscriptions have been found at Pogla and in the neighbourhood, naming various festivals, but the Serapeia Alexandria appear to be new. For βωμείς (βωμῖς) see L. Robert *REG.* LXIII (1950), *Bull. Épigr.* no. 204; the coupling in the present inscription of statue and *bomis* in lines 9–10 and 21–22 confirms Robert's opinion that the word denotes some kind of base or substructure, here apparently a statue-base. This is, indeed, the meaning of βωμός as early as *Od.* 7, 100. βωμῖς is beginning to appear as characteristic of this part of Asia Minor.

106. Çomaklı, built into a fountain beside the mosque in the Mescitönü Mahallesi, a marble block 0.93 h., 0.47 w., reported to be about 0.65 th., the upper part inscribed in regular letters 32–34 mm. high.

 Ἑρμαῖον Ἀττα
 Ἀρτείου Ἀττα
 Γλύκωνος τὸν
 ἀπὸ προγόνων
 φιλόπατριν

Apparently an honorific inscription which began on a block above. The mention of five generations is somewhat unusual; four are common enough, e.g. Nos. 112 and 114 below.

107. Çomaklı, in a wall of house No. 63, Kakasbos relief of normal type, 0.40 h., 0.50 w., thickness not ascertainable. Inscription below, a good deal damaged.

..... ΕΓΗΕ Ἑρακλῖ εὐχῇ[ν]
 ἀνέστησα . κ . . . ο - -

Line 1. Perhaps [ὁ δεῖνα κ]ε [ῆς - - - ἀνέστησα[ν]. Or possibly, e.g. [? Αὐρη. Μ]έχης - - - ἀνέστησα [ε]κ [τῶν ἰδίων]. For these Kakasbos reliefs see Part I, No. 53.

108. Çomaklı, in the open space in front of the coffee-houses, an eagle with spread wings, handsomely carved, but the head and the tips of the wings are missing. Inscription on the base. Photograph, Pl. VIII*d*.

[Ἑ]ρμαῖος Δημητ - - -

There is no room for more on the base (which is complete on the right) and the inscription must have continued on an adjoining stone. The eagle is not, therefore, a complete monument in itself, but must have formed part of a group. The whole monument may have been funerary.³⁸

109. Çomaklı, together with No. 108, tombstone with relief in three parts : above, in the pediment, two birds facing each other (cocks ?) ; in the middle, a man and a woman ; below, a horse and rider. Inscription below, mostly illegible. Photograph, Pl. IXa. On each of the right and left sides is a female figure seated facing in an aedicule with pediment containing a round object, apparently a rosette.

ΟΙΠΕΜΙΟΝΜΙ . ΛΚ

--- M . O

Possibly [τ]ὸ <μν>εμίον. For *epsilon* in place of *eta*, cf. *Ερας in BSA. XVI, 122, No. 16 (at Andeda).

110. Çomaklı, at the school, thick block forming a quarter of a circle, with a male bust in relief ; inscription below, broken away after one line. The corresponding quarter-circle, with a bust of a woman, which originally adjoined this on the right, is in a wall of the house of Abdi Günay, but its inscription is lost.

Νέων Τροκό[νδου καὶ ἡ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος]

111. Çomaklı, at the house of the smith Ibrahim Çelik, a stele 0·63 h., 0·42 w., about 0·18 th., but the back is rounded and tapers upwards. Pediment with acroteria containing a disc : the whole of the rest of the stone is occupied by the inscription in a panel. Letters 19–23 mm. high.

ου

Ἀφροδείσιος Διογέν
Ἑλλάδι γυναικὶ ἰδίᾳ
φιλοστοργίης ἕνεκ | εν.
Ἑλλάδος οὖνομ' ἔχω,
5 Γαλατῶν δέ με γαί' ἀνέθ | ρε-
ψεν· Ἰταλίην δ' εἶδον, πο | λ-
<λ>ήν δ' ἔπε<λ>ήλυθα γαῖα | ν.
νῆμασι δέ Μοιρῶν ὦδε
θανοῦσ' ἐτάφην. ἀνδρὸς
10 δ' εὐσεβίην ἐδάην, καὶ μ' ἐ-
κτερέϊξεν· σῆμα δέ μο | ι
τεῦξεν μάλ' ἀριφραδὲς
οὐνεκα καὐτὸς εὖρο | ι
εὐσεβίης δῶρον ὑπέχ
15 θεόφιν

Line 7. Δ bis lapis. In lines 3, 5, 6, 7, 11 and 13 the writing strays on to the rim of the panel. The "epic" dialect (Ἰταλίην, εὐσεβίην) extends

³⁸ For the eagle on funeral monuments, cf. Sterrett *WE.* 26, Λούκιος ἀνέστησε Τήλεφον . . . [καὶ] ἑαυτὸν ἀετὸν καὶ . . . τὸν π[ατέρα] ἀετὸν τειμῆς χάριν, discussed by L. Robert, *Et. Anat.* 394. Ramsay *Studies in the Eastern Provinces* 278 understood ἀετὸς here to mean "pediment", but Robert is surely right in taking it to mean "eagle". The eagle is common on funerary reliefs ; sculpture in the round, as in the present case, is more exceptional. For a spread-eagle on a tomb at Cormasa (Eğneş) see Part I, p. 92.

even to the prose portion in line 3 (though not to ἰδίᾳ in line 2). The metrical scheme—two hexameters followed by a pentameter—is common enough ; for an exact parallel see Kaibel No. 823. Metrical inscriptions are not common in this region.

112. Çomaklı, in the street outside house No. 61, upper part of an altar with plain moulding and acroteria ; inscription on and below the moulding in letters 30–35 mm. high. Below, five figures standing, in descending height from left to right, almost totally effaced.

Ἄττας δις Ἀρτείου ^{Ἄττα} Ἀρτε-
 μει τῇ ^{μου} γυνεὶ καὶ
 [τέ]κνοις μνήμη

Nothing more was cut on the stone. For the names, cf. No. 106 above.

113. Çomaklı, in the house of Hasan Cengiz, upper part of an altar 0·35 h., 0·39 w., about 0·40 th. Pediment containing a disc ; below, two busts in relief, female on the left, male on the right ; inscription on the upper rim and between the heads. Photograph, Pl. VIIIe.

[Ἀρ]τεμεις Μεννέου Ὀσσει
 Ἀλεξάν-
 δρου

Ὀσσει is no doubt dative : “ Artemeis daughter of Menneas to Osaeis son of Alexandros.” This is the commonest epitaphic formula at Poglā.

114. Çomaklı, at the house of Ahmet Bayındır, a funeral altar 0·85 h., 0·29 w., 0·23 th., with reliefs and inscription on three sides. Photograph, Pl. IXb.

(a) On the front, two standing figures on a ledge, male on the right, female on the left.

Τροκόνδας δις Μο-
 λέους Λογεινοῦ [sic] καὶ
 Ούαουα Μνησιθέου
 Μάνου Μ. αικουδεως

(b) On the right side, two figures exactly similar to those on the front.

ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
 ζῶντες καὶ τοῦ[ς]
 γονεῖς αὐτοῦ
 μνήμης χάριν

(c) On the left side, a human figure on a base, badly defaced.

καὶ Ἀρτείμαν
 τὸν υἱὸν αὐ-
 τῶν στρατευ-
 ὄμενον

In the last word of (a) 4 the stone is damaged between M and A ; if a letter stood there, it can only have been *iota*, but possibly the damage is ancient and the stonemason avoided it. In either case the name seems to be quite unknown ; I take it to be the name of Manes' father, not a toponymic. In (b) 2 the grammar breaks down, or else *ἐαυτούς* has been omitted before *καί*. The construction, with a nominative and an accusative and no verb, is abnormal in an epitaph, at least in this region. In (c) either the son Arteimas, away on service with the Roman army, is added as an afterthought, or more likely *μνήμης χάριν* in (b) 4 relates only to the parents, all the other persons being still alive. The reliefs on each side evidently show the persons named on that side ; no attempt is made at realism in portraying the difference in age, the two pairs in (a) and (b) being identically represented.

ANDEDA

The site of Andeda is securely located at, or at least near, the village of Andya (now Yavuz) ; inscriptions mentioning Andeda have been found there,³⁹ and the ancient name has evidently survived with little change. The city is not mentioned by any ancient writer,⁴⁰ but Ramsay (*AM*. X, 335, 339) recognised it in the *Notitiae* in the form Sandida ([εἰ]ς Ἀνδηδα), occurring in association with Verbe, and an Imperial coinage has long been known.⁴¹ No ruins of an actual city have been found near Andya and the exact site remains undetermined ; it must apparently have been of the unwallled type (above, p. 56, n. 24).

115. Belen, fifteen minutes from Yavuz (Andya), supporting a post of the mosque, a small round altar without decoration ; the greater part was buried when I saw it and the lower part of the inscription is given from a copy made by a villager.

Κοίντος
Νουμέρι-
ος ἱερεὺς
Μηνὸς Ο[ὕ]-
5 ρανίου κα-
τὰ χρημα-
τισμὸν ἀνέ-
θηκε Θεῷ
Ὑψίστῳ

For χρηματισμός in the sense of χρησμός see LSJ. s.v. I, 5.

³⁹ Ramsay *AM* X (1885), 337, Ἀνδηδέων [τῇ β]ουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ; Woodward *BSA*. XVI (1909-10), 123, No. 18, citizens of Andeda victors in the *diaulos*.

⁴⁰ Jones *CERP*. 417, n. 37, observes that Hierocles' ΣΙΝΔΑΥΝΔΑ ΜΥΟΔΙΑ "perhaps represent Sibidunda and Andeda ; the first seems to be a conflation of the two names" ; but it appears rather to represent Σιβίδουνδα alone. Μυοδία is obscure and can hardly conceal Andeda.

⁴¹ I was shown at Zivint in 1958 a handsome specimen of the type *BMC Lycia* Pl. XXX, 12.

116. Yavuz (Andya), in a garden beside the road from Belen, plain sarcophagus 2·00 long, 0·90 wide, about 0·90 high ; inscription in a *tabula ansata*.

Γ. Ἀουίλλιος Οὐεί-
βιανὸς Κρίσπος
Πλ. Οὐικτορεί-
νη μνήμης
χάριν

Line 3. Πλ(αγκίϛ)? The abbreviation Pl. is not common. We have a M. Plancius Lelex ⁴² and a M. Plancius Cornelianus Gaius ⁴³ in the neighbourhood ; these are likely to have taken their names from M. Plancius Varus, whose family, and especially his daughter Plancia Magna, has recently come into prominence at Perge.

117. Yavuz, at the house of Mehmet Avcı, is a handsome marble font, on one side of which is a cross bearing the letters

Φ
ω C Z

i.e. φῶς ζ(ωή) ; see *IGLS* II 304 commentary.

At the same house I saw numerous slabs of white stone (not marble), which may have come from the floor of the church, and close to the house several architectural fragments from a good-sized building, including pieces of a dentil frieze.

117a. The inscription published by Ramsay in *AM.* X, 338, recording the holding of a high priesthood here and in the "city of the Verbiani" by the same individual, is still in the cemetery where he saw it.

118. Rather less than 1 km. north-east of Belen village, about 100 m. from the crossroads, standing in the open fields, is a rectangular stone rising about 1 m. out of the ground, inscribed on all four sides in rather rough letters some 15 cm. high. Photograph, Pl. Xa.

On the S.W. face :	OP	ὄρος
	OC	
On the S.E. face :	AN	Ἀν(δήδων)
On the N.W. face :	ΠΩ	Πώ(γλων)
On the N.E. face :	ΠΛ	Πλ(- - -)

The stone evidently marked the meeting-point of the territories of three cities. Whether it still stands in its original position must no doubt remain uncertain, but it seems very probable that it does. It has been there as long as anyone can now remember, and it serves no purpose in its present position, but is rather an impediment to agriculture. The north-west face looks directly towards Pogla, the south-west face directly towards Andya, but there is no room for a reasonable territory between the stone and the village and the Andedan territory must have extended to the south and east.

⁴² *AJA.* IV, 14, No. 6, at Andeda, and *JHS.* VIII, 254, Nos. 35 and 36, at Zivint.

⁴³ *AM.* X, 338, at Andeda.

The inscription on the north-east side, ΠΛ, is in the present state of our knowledge enigmatic.⁴⁴ That these are the initial letters of a third city is hardly doubtful, but no city with a name beginning in this way is known to have existed in these parts, nor have any remains of a city lying in this direction been hitherto discovered. There is, however, a small site, which I visited in 1958, about 4 km. distant to the east-north-east across the plain.⁴⁵ Directly above the main Korkuteli road, about half-way between Zivint and Garipçe,⁴⁶ is a low rocky spur whose conspicuous reddish colour gives it its name of Bozburun. Nothing whatever is standing on the hill, no wall, no foundations, no squared blocks, not even any rock-cuttings; but the hill is thickly strewn with sherds and on the south slope is a considerable underground chamber untidily excavated by the local residents, in which statues (or possibly reliefs) are said to have been found and taken to Zivint and Çomaklı. The site can never have been a large one, but the sherds are conclusive proof of habitation⁴⁷; provisionally at least, there seems a good probability that this is the place whose name began with ΠΙ- and whose territory bordered that of Pogla and Andeda. So inconsiderable a town might well leave no trace in our authorities; some chance find may some day give us the full name.⁴⁸

VERBE

A city of Verbe (termination uncertain) is well attested in this neighbourhood. Imperial coins inscribed ΟΥΕΡΒΙΑΝΩΝ are not particularly rare; Hierocles has Βέρβη between Σίνδα (i.e. Isinda) and Σίνδαννδα (i.e. Sibidunda); the *Notitiae* have Berbe or Barbe; and Ramsay found at Andya the inscription, No. 117a above, mentioning the city of the Verbiani. This last proves that Verbe was a fairly close neighbour of Andeda, since the same man served as high priest in both cities, and this is confirmed by the order of mention in Hierocles. But the exact site has not been conclusively determined. In 1910 Woodward and Ormerod visited Yelten (Yerten) and found, either there or in the vicinity, nine inscriptions (several agonistic and several mentioning Boule and Demos) published in *BSA*. XVI, 115-121, Nos. 7-15.⁴⁹ Woodward accordingly suggested that Verbe may have been at Yelten and Ramsay (*Klio* 23, 1930, 248) expressed approval of this. Since the site at Zivint is otherwise appropriated (see below), this suggestion seems highly probable; no actual city-site has been

⁴⁴ I examined the stone carefully and was satisfied that it has ΠΛ, not ΠΑ.

⁴⁵ I could learn of no site on the plain itself; it appears that the ancient towns, like the modern villages, were ranged along its edges at the foot of the bordering hills—a very natural arrangement.

⁴⁶ Inscriptions have been found at Garipçe, but it does not seem to have been an ancient site.

⁴⁷ They are of the usual Roman types ubiquitous in this region.

⁴⁸ It may be thought surprising that the territory of the little town at Bozburun should extend all across the plain to Belen. The boundary-stone may, of course, not be *in situ*; but wherever it stood, it is clear from the relative positions of the names on the stone that ΠΙ—lay somewhere in the direction of Bozburun.

⁴⁹ To these another was added in *BSA*. XVII, 209, No. 6.

discovered in or near the village, but the same is true of Andeda, whose identity is not doubtful.

I visited Yelten in 1958. I saw only two of Woodward's inscriptions (his Nos. 10 and 13) and both of them had been moved since his visit; I saw no new ones. There are, however, numerous ancient stones in the village, including uninscribed bases and a block about 2 m. high, standing at the gate of a cemetery, with a relief of a shield crossed by a sheathed sword. It seemed to me that the remains may fairly indicate the site of a small city such as Verbe.⁵⁰

119. Cemetery half-way between Yelten and Zivint,⁵¹ a base broken at the bottom, 0·82 h., 0·47 w., 0·50 th., with four round holes on top. Letters 3 to 4 cm. high, but smaller in line 1.

ἀγῶνα θέμιδος τετρα-
 ετηρικὸν ἀχθέντα
 τὸ δεύτερον ἐξ ἰδί-
 ας αὐτοῦ ὑποσχέσε-
 5 ὡς ὑπὸ Κουρτίου Σε-
 πτιμίου Ἀπτιανοῦ
 [Μ]άρκου ἀγωνοθέτου
 [δ]ιά βίου καὶ διὰ γένους
 [Α]ὐρ. Τιβεριανὸς Μαρ-

Line 7. For Marcus used as a cognomen, cf. Woodward *BSA*. XVII, 209, No. 6, at Andya, Αὐρ. Κορτίου Ἀν[τ]ρονιανοῦ Μάρκου and *IGR*. IV, 718, Γάιον Μούμμιον Μάρκου υἱὸν Μάρκον. Similarly with Caius, above, p. 66, n. 43, Μάρκος Πλάνκιος Κορνηλιανὸς Γάιος.

Agonistic inscriptions are particularly common in this region. Whether this one belongs to Sibidunda, at Zivint, or to the city at Yelten there seems no means of determining. τετραετηρικός in the sense of the usual πενταετηρικός is rare: see LSJ. s.v. The normal πενταετηρικός is used elsewhere in this region, e.g. Ramsay *AJA*. IV, 12, No. 9, at Pogla. An ἀγῶν ἐννεαετηρικός at Yelten, Woodward *BSA*. XVI, 117, No. 10.

SIBIDUNDA

Sibidunda was for a long time known only⁵² from its coins, of Imperial date, and was supposed to be a Phrygian city.⁵³ It was noted, however, that

⁵⁰ The sceptic will note, however, that Woodward's inscriptions were mostly in cemeteries—three of them forty minutes distant—and that no new ones seem to have come to light in the forty-eight years since his visit. Alternatively, of course, I may have failed to find them.

⁵¹ This sounds like the "cemetery 40 minutes east of Yerten" in which Woodward found his No. 7; but the present stone appeared to have been there a long time, and I saw no sign of his stone.

⁵² Apart from corrupted forms in Hierocles and the *Notitiae* which might represent it: see Ramsay *CB*. II, 753-4, and above, p. 65, n. 40.

⁵³ It is included in the Phrygian volume of *BMC*; cf. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* 289, and Ramsay loc. cit., followed by Ruge in *RE*. s.v. (1921).

the coins had Pisidian associations ⁵⁴ and Ramsay later proposed to locate the city at Zivint. ⁵⁵ The name Zivint looks, indeed, like a survival of Sibidunda and the situation of "Sindaunda" in Hierocles is in agreement. This identification has found some favour ⁵⁶ and the inscription No. 120 below, which I discovered there in 1958, may fairly be regarded as clinching it. ⁵⁷

The ancient city was on the same spot now occupied by the village ; the site has been thought unsuitable for a city, but the evidence is conclusive. Zivint is on a low flat hill ; the summit is occupied by fields, in which foundations are constantly being uncovered ; at the time of my visit several excellently squared blocks and a threshold-stone were exposed to view. And sherds of Roman date are abundant all over the hill. Nothing is standing and I saw no sign of a city-wall ; Sibidunda is yet another of the unfortified towns which are so common in this region. Inscribed stones are found in the village and at several cemeteries in the neighbourhood, notably the Deniz Muvarı Mezarlığı, some 3 km. to the south, and the Dağ Mezarlığı, about the same distance to the north-east.

At a spot called Ömer Hasan Hüyüğü (Kocainaltı Mevkii), 20 minutes to the east of Zivint, is a handsome built tomb constructed of excellently cut blocks, now (and no doubt always) underground. Length and breadth both measure 2·15 m. ; the height is uncertain, the bottom being filled with stones and earth. The roof is formed by a block on each side projecting obliquely inwards, leaving a gap at the top 1·10 m. wide to be bridged by a capstone, now missing. ⁵⁸ The top course at the back also slopes inwards and is cut away to receive the sloping blocks of the two sides. Of the door in front only one side remains. A large slab of different stone lying close by seemed, as far as I could judge, not to have belonged to this building.

120. Zivint, at the house of İzzet Sivri, an architrave block 0·48 h., 1·21 long, 0·49 th., complete on the left, broken on the right. Monumental letters of Imperial date 7·5 to 12 cm. high. Squeeze, Pl. VIII*d*.

[ῥ Σιβ]ῖδουνδέων πῶλ[15]

Other cases than the nominative are of course possible. We have evidently part of the dedication of a building.

121. Zivint, from Dağ Mezarlığı, now lying in the open in the village, a shallow-fluted column 1·22 h., 0·47 in diameter ; dowel-hole and lead-channel in the upper

⁵⁴ Head *BMC. Phrygia* xciv ; Jones *CERP* 417, n. 37 ; Robert *Hellenica* III, 68, n. 1.

⁵⁵ *Klio* XXIII, 248. He says, indeed, that Zivint is "proved" to be Sibidunda, but in what the proof consists is not clear.

⁵⁶ e.g. with Jones loc. cit. and Robert loc. cit.

⁵⁷ At Zivint also I was shown a bronze of Sibidunda with reverse type similar to *BMC. Phrygia* No. 9 and Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* 289, No. 1, but of Caracalla. This may be added to the total of evidence, though in itself, of course, it proves nothing (except that Sibidunda was probably somewhere in this region) ; I was shown at the same time bronzes of Attaleia, Isinda, Andeda and Codrula.

⁵⁸ This stone is said to be a single block now re-used in a fountain in Zivint village ; it was pointed out to me later, but only a small part of it is visible.

surface, dowel-hole in the bottom. Rather rough letters 20–25 mm. high, written across the fluting. Photograph, Pl. XII*d*.

οἱ περὶ Τροκόνδαν Ἀττα
καὶ Ἀτταν Ἑρμαίου
Μορμοου καὶ Ὅσαιιν
Μολεσεος ἐγλο-
5 γισταὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα
[θε]οῦ Διονύσ[ου]

ἐκλογισταί, generally spelt ἐγλογισταί, are familiar as annually appointed Treasury officials.⁵⁹ They seem in the present case to have been a fairly numerous body, since three of them are mentioned as directors. Alternatively it is, I suppose, possible that the officials of three different years combined to make the dedication.

Line 6 appears to have been intentionally erased, for whatever reason, but I felt little or no doubt about the reading. The name Mormoas is apparently new, but similar names occur, e.g. Μορμίας, Μουρμης, Μωρμης, and the village of Mormonda, near Smyrna.⁶⁰

122. Zivint, in the garden of the Post Office, a rectangular base 1.00 h., 0.36 w., 0.30 th.; square superstructure with square hole on top. Letters about 3 cm. high, rather irregular; E and Ε, O and Ο, C and Ε, ω and Ω. Photograph, Pl. IX*c*.

Θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ
Ἀγείᾳ Καταφυγῇ
Ἀρτίμας υἱὸς Ἀρ-
τίμου Μομμίου
5 καὶ [Μ]αρκίας ὁ αὐ-
τὸς κτίστης ἀ-
νέστησεν καὶ
τὸν θυμιατισ-
τηρον καὶ κέον
10 ἐκ τῶν ιδίων

For Ἀγία Καταφυγή as the designation of a deity I know no parallel. The conception is no doubt the same as in *Exodus* XVII, 15, where Moses built an altar καὶ ἐπωνόμασε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, Κύριός μου καταφυγή. But for the identity of the deity in question I can offer no suggestion.

Lines 8–9. τὸν θυμιατιστηρον seems to be a mixture of τὸ θυμιατιστήριον and τὸν θυμιατιστήρα. The lexicons quote neither word, but only θυμιατήριον. κέον is presumably for κείονα. I do not understand what is intended by the addition of ὁ αὐτός in line 5.

123. Zivint, together with No. 122, a small altar standing upside down with the top buried, at least 0.67 h., 0.20 w., 0.20 th.; plain mouldings, no other decoration. Letters variable, very large in line 6.

⁵⁹ For the “Baufinanzkommission” under this name at Didyma see now *Didyma* II (1958), p. 62.

⁶⁰ For Mormonda, see most recently Bean *Anadolu Araştırmaları* I (= *Jahrb. Kleinas. Forsch.* III), p. 51.

θεῶ Ἀσκλη-
πιῶ ἐπηκό-
ω Πόπλιος
Μ. Οὐαλερι-
5 ανδς (*leaf*)
εὐχήν

123a. Also in the garden of the Post Office is the inscription in honour of Julia Chlide, wife of M. Plancius Lelex, published by A. H. Smith in *JHS*. VIII (1887), 254, No. 36. The last line reads σώφρονα ἐνάρετον, not σώφρονα καὶ ἐνάρετον.

124. Zivint, Yukarı Mahalle, over a fountain, said to have been dug up in the neighbourhood, a marble block 0·52 h., 0·51 w., 0·25 th., broken at top and bottom; a square hole in the inscribed face has destroyed the middle parts of lines 1-3. Right and left edges both preserved, but the left edge has been cut away obliquely. Regular letters 17-22 mm. high, with ligatures, crowded at the ends of the lines in several cases. Photograph, Pl. VIc.

[- - - - - πατήρ]
[π]ατρίδος [ἀνθύ]πατος λέγ[ει].
[κ]αὶ ἐν ἅλ[λοις] πολλοῖς
[ἐ]θνεσιν [διατ]εταγμένο[ν]
[ἐ]στίν πάντα τὰ συμβό-
5 [λ]αία διὰ τῶν δημοσίων
[γ]ραμματοφυλακείων
[ἀ]ναγράφεσθαι. ὑμᾶς δὲ
[π]υνθάνομαι καὶ ἄλλων
[μ]ᾶλλον τοιούτου τρό-
10 [π]ου δεῖσθαι συναλλα-
[γ]μάτων διὰ τὸ ἐπιπολάζειν
πολλὰς παραποιήσεις ἐν τῷ
ἔθνει, καὶ διατετάχθαι δὲ ἡ[δ]η
[π]ολλάκις ὑφ' ἡγεμόνων τὸ
15 πρᾶγμα, καὶ μηδὲν ὄφελος
[τ]ῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης γενέσ-
[θ]αι διὰ τοὺς οὐ πειθομένου[ς].
[ν]ῦν δὲ ἐγὼ κελεύω ΠΑ . 1^α

Line 1. For the restoration I am indebted to Prof. A. H. M. Jones. Trajan seems to have been the first Emperor to use the title *proconsul*; from the style of the lettering our document no doubt emanates from one of the 2nd-century Emperors.

Lines 2 sqq. “ . . . In many other provinces also it is prescribed that all contracts be registered in the public record-office. But in your case I learn that you desire rather to have more transactions of this kind, owing to the prevalence of forgeries in the province, and that the matter has on many previous occasions been the subject of pronouncements by the governors, and that their decisions were unavailing by reason of non-compliance. So now I ordain . . . ”

We have evidently part of an Imperial rescript, addressed no doubt to the provincial authorities, not merely to the city of Sibidunda. The matter in question, the prevalence of forgeries in business contracts, is one which is dealt with by Justinian in Section 73 of the *Novellae*. He there remarks that many instances of such dishonesty have come under his own observation and that certain Emperors had in the past attempted to find a means of prevention⁶¹: our present document is evidence of these attempts. The actual instructions which were issued on this occasion are unfortunately lost; according to Justinian, the earlier Emperors had concentrated especially on the comparison of handwriting as a means of detection.⁶² He himself, however, had found this to be in practice unreliable; a man writes differently in his youth and old age, or in sickness; a different pen and ink destroys the similarity of script; and he quotes a case where the handwriting of a contract had appeared suspect, but was in fact confirmed by the evidence of the attesting witnesses. He therefore prefers to rely rather on the testimony of the witnesses. It appears from our present document that a third method had been tried in some provinces, namely to require all contracts to be officially registered in the public archives; this, one would imagine, ought to be effective against forgery, but troublesome for the parties concerned—and for this reason probably it had been neglected.

συνάλλαγμα is frequently used (as e.g. by Justinian in the passage quoted) as a synonym of συμβόλαιον “a business contract”. In the present case, however, since it is already decreed that all συμβόλαια must be registered, συναλλάγματα has evidently its wider sense of “dealings, transactions” of all kinds; the provincials have asked that compulsory registration be applied not only to contracts, but rather (μᾶλλον) to other documents as well, such as title-deeds, bequests and so forth. I am not sure whether it may fairly be inferred from καί in line 2 that registration of συμβόλαια was already required in Pamphylia; if so, the provincials had no doubt asked also that stricter measures be taken to ensure that it should be carried out. The Emperor’s reply (which perhaps began with some form of the word πᾶς) presumably complied with their wishes.

125. Zivint, built into the house of Mevlut Aydın, a block 0·36 h., 0·50 w., 0·16 th., broken at the top; inscription at the bottom, above it part of a sunken panel. Hellenistic letters 11–13 mm. high, much worn in places. Squeeze, Pl. Xc.

Τροκόνδας Κοτη, Ἑρμαῖος Φιλίππου, *vac.* ?
 Ἑρμ[αῖ]ος κα[ι] Κανδων οἱ Ἀρτίμων, [- - 6-7 - -]
 ΔΩ . . . ΜΑ . . καὶ Ἀρμαστ[ι]ς (?) καὶ
 αἱ Ὀσαειτος θυγατέρες, . ΚΚΑ . ΙΙ . . ΙΝΔΩ
 5 ΝΟΣ τ[ὸ]ν ἑαυτῶν π[α]τρῶνα καὶ Μα τήν
 ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα φιλοστοργίας ἐνεκεν

⁶¹ ὅτι τινὲς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων, ἐπιπολασάσης ἡδὴ τῆς κακίας τοῖς νοθεύουσι τὰ συμβόλαια, τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκώλυον. . . . ἐπειδὴ τοῖνυν ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς χρόνοις μυρίας εὗρομεν παραποιήσεις ἐν δίκαις πολλαῖς ὧν ἡκροασάμεθα κτλ.

⁶² *loc. cit.*: ἐν ἐκείνῳ σπούδασμα τοῖς παραποιοῦσιν εἶναι πιστεύοντες, τὸ πρὸς τὴν μίμησιν τῶν γραμμάτων ἑαυτοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐγγυμνάζειν, διότι μηδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστι παραποίησις εἰ μὴ τῶν ἀληθῶν μίμησις.

For the name Kotes see Part I, No. 16. Kandon does not appear to occur elsewhere, but the stem Κανδ- is not uncommon. Ἀρμαστις in line 3 is very uncertain. The honorand's patronymic seems to end in -ινδωνος : Κανδωνος is not possible. Line 6 : τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα for τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.⁶³

The inscription is interesting for its date, which from the style of the script cannot be later than the 1st century B.C. and might well be earlier. The genitive of Ὅσαιοις (a very common name) is normally Ὅσαιοι for Ὅσαιοιτος cf. on No. 135 below.

The stone is not a statue-base, for which it is much too narrow. Presumably the sunken panel above the inscription contained a relief depicting the honorand and his wife ; only an inch or two of the panel is preserved.

126. Zivint, at the house of Ibrahim Okutan, dug up in a tomb in the village about fifteen years ago, an epistyle block broken on right and left, with three fasciae, 0.30 h., 0.90 w., 0.36 th. Letters 35 mm. high in line 1, decreasing to 27 mm. in line 5. Line 1 on upper moulding, 2-3 on upper fascia, 4 on middle fascia, 5 on bottom fascia.

[Μᾶ]ρκος Καλπούρνιος [- - 5-6 - -]ς
[καὶ Ἀρ]τεμους Ὅσαιοι ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ζῶντες ἑαυ[τοῖς]
[κατε]σκεύασαν τό τε ἡρώιον καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ [σω]-
[ματ]θήκηην καὶ ἀνδριάντας αὐτῶν τε καὶ τοῦ γεγο-
[νό]τος αὐτοῦ ἱς υἱοῦ Μάρκου (*leaf*)

The stone belonged evidently to a built tomb of some size. A M. Calpurnius Longus is known as the proprietor of estates in the neighbourhood of Tefenni^{63a} ; it is not unlikely that a member of his family was the owner of this tomb.

127. Zivint, in the village, a broken block 0.37 h., 0.31 w., 0.08 th. On one side is a moulding with inscription below in letters 27 mm. high.

[- - -]ς υἱὸς Φρο[- - - -]
[- - -]ος τὸ ἀν[γείον - -]
[- - κ]ατέστη[σεν - - -]
[- - -] \ΕΛ [- - - - -]

On the other side, set at right-angles to the above, is a relief showing a springing animal with fronds growing out of its back and belly ; part of another animal is visible above.

127a. At the poor village of Yalınlı, forty-five minutes east of Zivint, is the

⁶³ The confusion of αὐτόν and ἑαυτόν is quite common, especially in the Roman period. In *JHS*. LXVIII (1948), 42, No. 2, τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναίκεϊ . . . φιλοστοργίας καὶ εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑατὴν (Arsada i B.C.), I supposed an error of gender ; I now believe rather that ἑατὴν = αὐτήν. Similarly in *TAM*. II, 148, Μηνοδώρα . . . τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἀνδρα . . . φιλοστοργίας ἔνεκεν τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν, where Kalinka writes ἑαυτ[ή]ν. See also Meisterhans-Schwyzler *Grammatik* p. 154 and No. 128 below.

^{63a} *IGR*. IV, 894-5 ; see Jones *CERP*. 396, n. 77. For the same family at Attaleia see *Bellelen* XXII (1958), Nos. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16.

rock-cut grave reported in *BSA*. XVII, 212, No. 11, with the name ΓΑΙΟΥ written retrograde in three places on the rocks close by.

SIA ("OSIA")

To the east of the main Burdur–Antalya road are two ancient sites discovered by V. Bérard and published in *BCH*. XVI (1892), 434 sqq. They do not appear to have been visited by anyone else.

The first of these lies about half an hour east of the village of Karaot. The country is wild and rocky, thickly covered with pinewoods,⁶⁴ but within a mile to the north-west is a small flat plain and there is another similar plain at Karaot; both of these are now under cultivation. The ruins are thickly clustered on the west slope and at the west foot of a pine-clad hill of modest height⁶⁵; they are unusually well preserved for this region, owing no doubt to the paucity of habitation in modern times. At the top of the hill, on the east side, is a fine stretch of city-wall, in striking polygonal masonry, containing a small gate; this wall does not appear to have continued round the west side. The east slope of the hill is steep and there are no buildings on this side. On the west slope, towards the bottom, is a broad flight of rock-cut steps, as if leading up to an entrance; but no gate is actually preserved here. A little higher up is a building (Pl. XI*b*) somewhat resembling a tiny theatre; there are eight or nine rows of seats about 20 m. long, but straight, not curved, and at the foot of these a level space with some remains of a paving of irregular slabs. This may have been a council-house; I calculated that it would seat some 350 persons. Higher up again is a small building with an apse at the east end and remains of numerous other buildings are standing among the pine-trees (Pl. XI*a*). The whole site is very picturesque. The necropolis is at the west foot of the hill and is not clearly separated from the city; there are many built tombs of considerable size and in a good state of preservation; one is quite complete, even to the roof (Pl. XI*d*). Most of them are uninscribed, but one has the following inscription over the door.

128. Karaot, on the lintel of a large built tomb to the right of the path which approaches from the north. Difficult to read.

Νάννη Κάπρου τὸ ἡρώει[ον], ἡ[α]τασκ[ε]υά-
 σασα δὲ τὰ παν[τ]ὸς κόσμου καὶ τοῦ τε κλε[ι]-
 σίου καὶ στέγης καὶ γλυφῆς καὶ στήρωσεως,
 αὐτῇ τε κα(ι) τῷ γενομένῳ αὐτῆς ἀνδρὶ Λεω-
 5 νίδῃ Τροκόνδου καὶ θυγατρὶ Εἰς μνήμης
 χάριν. τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώειον ἀκολουθήσει Τ[ρο]-
 κόνδῃ καὶ Κροτέρῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς ἑ[α]τ[ε]ρῆς καὶ τοῖς
 ἑξ αὐτῶν ΚΑΙ ΑΙ . ΝΑΙΕΝΟΙΣ ΝΕ[ω]νι καὶ Οἱ . .
 ΑΔΙ ἐπὶ διατάξει θάψαι. ὁ δὲ περίβολος καὶ
 10 οἱ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τόποι εἰσὶν τῶν υἱῶν μο[υ]

⁶⁴ A road, just passable for a jeep, leads from Dağ Nahiyesi to Karaot.

⁶⁵ Bérard speaks strangely of the site as on a summit of the range with a wide view as far as Aspendus. He calls it Duchemé, i.e. Döşeme, but this name is not now used; Döşemealtı is away to the south, beyond the Çubuk Boğazı pass.

Line 2. κλεισίτου, a rare word of somewhat doubtful meaning. It occurs in an uncertain, but evidently funerary, context in *BCH*. XXXIII (1909), 72, No. 58, where Grégoire suggests it may be a small building belonging to the tomb but at some distance from it, where funerary rites were carried out. "Shrine or chapel," *LSJ*. s.v.

Line 4. ΚΑΤΩ lapis. τῷ γενομένῳ ἀνδρὶ "her late, or former, husband". This is the regular meaning of this expression; cf. No. 130 below.

Line 7. For ἐαυτῆς = αὐτῆς see above, No. 125.

Line 8. After ἐξ αὐτῶν we have apparently a participle, which I cannot recover. καταχ[ι]ναμένοις would fit the traces and the form is paralleled; but the meaning is dubious. "Born, or descended, from them" is not a recognised meaning of καταγίγνομαι.

Line 9. ἐπὶ διατάξει θάψαι "with the right to bury by testamentary disposition". The expression is not familiar and the reading is not guaranteed, though it suits the traces on the squeeze. Such testamentary permission given to more distant relatives and others is, of course, perfectly normal. The grammar of the inscription, here and in lines 1-3, leaves something to be desired.

The inscriptions found by Bérard which give the name of this small city are in the wall of a building just at the foot of the hill. They are high up, apparently in the upper storey, side by side, and face the interior of the building; this is certainly not their original position and they have clearly been reused. They are in honour of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus, and each ends with the words ΟΔΗΜΟCΟCΙΗΝΩΝ. This was transcribed by Bérard as ὁ δῆμος Ὁσινηῶν, and the city has passed under the name of Osia. This is of course possible, but it is certainly more normal for the article to be repeated, and the natural presumption is that we should read ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σινηῶν. The point would perhaps hardly be worth making, if it were not that the name appears to be actually recorded in this form. In Hierocles' list of Pamphylian cities, after Codrula and before Pednelissus and Selge, is an entry Δεμουσία. Following Bérard's discovery, Ramsay quickly perceived (*REG*. VI (1893), 253) that this represents the city at Karaot, δήμου Ὁσια.⁶⁶ But δήμου Σια is still nearer to Hierocles' text; and these two considerations together justify us in preferring Sia. For the form of the name it is doubtful if we should compare ἀγρόν Σιοῦντα on a stone at Antalya,⁶⁷ as this is evidently a Greek name; Sia is no doubt Anatolian, like most of the place-names of the region.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Ramsay had previously regarded it (*HG* 416) as a corruption of δήμου Ἰσβα. In his posthumous *Social Basis* 69 it is surprisingly explained as "the property of Mousis". As we learn from Anderson's Foreword that this part of the book was left by Ramsay "complete in paged proof", it appears that having found the true interpretation he subsequently abandoned it. Or perhaps he had forgotten it. In *REG* loc. cit. he says that Osia is well known from the Byzantine lists, of which the texts are unfortunately not available to me here.

⁶⁷ Published by me in *Belleten* XXII (1958), 39, No. 30.

⁶⁸ Ptolemy V, 12, 10, records a place Σια in Armenia. While speaking of Hierocles, I may perhaps take the opportunity here to put forward a suggestion which occurred to me too late for inclusion in my article on the Cibyratis and Caralitis in *BSA*. LI, 136 sqq. Hierocles' list of Lycian cities ends, after Balbura, with the enigmatic entry Κομιστάραος.

MILYAS (?)

Bérard's other site is at Melli,⁶⁹ but his description of it is meagre in the extreme. The neighbourhood is now very poor and thinly populated ; there is a small plain, but it is not very fertile. The ancient city, however, is more considerable than that at Karaot, though less picturesque. It is on a hill of moderate height a mile or so to the south-east of the *nahiye* and is called, as so often, Asar. The walled area at the summit is perhaps 200 m. long by a bare 100 m. wide ; the wall (Pl. Xb) is polygonal, varying almost to ashlar in many places, 1.90 m. thick. This type of masonry is in general early Hellenistic. A little below the summit, on the north-east, is a theatre of fair size but comparatively small capacity ; the cavea is backed by a rock-wall up to 30 ft. high and some of the seats are cut in this ; parts of ten rows are visible and not more than a very few can be buried. The cavea is barely more than a semicircle ; the stage-building is now reduced to a heap of small stones, but the front wall is discernible, in line with the angles of the analemata. Behind the stage is a long, narrow, rectangular building (Pl. XIc) of handsome cushioned ashlar, still standing up to 6 m. high ; in its outer face are seven doors, six of which are rectangular, of varying heights and widths, while the second from the west is arched. Sherds are abundant all over the hill, but they are less distinctive than usual.⁷⁰

Below the theatre the north slope is covered with a mass of ruins, overthrown no doubt, as Bérard observed, by an earthquake, so that little can

Ramsay's interpretation of this as κώμη Μάστουρα found some favour for a time ; then Meritt, in *AJP.* 1937, 385 sqq., proposed to read it as Κομίστρατος and to recognise this town in the Athenian assessment list for 425 B.C. [Κομίστ]ρατος [ἐν Λυκίᾳ]ι. This view was attacked by Robert in *Ét. Ép. et Phil.* 245 sqq. and was withdrawn in *ATL.* II, 86. Surely the solution is supplied by the inscription I published in *BSA.* loc. cit., No. 59. The stone is at Kozagacı and reveals the name of that interesting site as Toriaion or something similar (Τοριαειτῶν ἢ πεντακωμία). Should we not read in Hierocles κώμης Τοριάου or the like? The place is named immediately after Balbura and Kozagacı is known to have belonged to that city (*BSA.* loc. cit.) ; and its status as a κώμη is confirmed by the term πεντακωμία. In connexion with this same inscription, I should like also to refer to a suggestion recently made by L. Robert, before the weight of his reputation should mislead scholars into supposing it probable. The stone has the words (lines 8-9) Τοριαειτῶν ἢ πεντακωμία, with the letters πεντ and κωμ in an erasure ; I suggested that the original text was ἡ κολωνία (see my commentary ad loc.). Robert, in a critique of my article (*REG.* LXXII (1959), *Bull. Epigr.* No. 415), expresses the opinion that the photograph of my squeeze shows an erasure in line 8 only, and suggests that the stone had originally τετρακωμία. By what right does he prefer his impression concerning the squeeze to my observations made in front of the stone? The facts concerning the erasure are as I stated them, and M. Robert was not justified in questioning them. But his proposed τετρακωμία is quite unacceptable for another reason. The words following Τοριαειτῶν ἢ as far as the end of the inscription are written in a different script, rougher and more widely spaced, with different letter-forms. If M. Robert had not observed this in his examination of the photograph, he might still have known it from the mention in my commentary. Now the letters κωμία in line 9 are in this inferior script, with *alpha*, *mu* and *omega* quite unlike those of the main text ; they belong therefore to the addition, not to the original inscription. The suggestion τετρακωμία is irresponsible and wrong, and ought not to have been made.

⁶⁹ Called by earlier travellers Milli or Milli Başköy. It now forms a tiny *nahiye* attached to Bucak.

⁷⁰ Probably owing to the peculiarly hard and gritty soil, almost like decomposed flint.

now be made out ; they include, however, solid buildings of squared blocks and many architectural fragments. The slope is steep and many of the blocks have slipped a long way down it. In this neighbourhood, apparently, Bérard found six statue-bases of Roman emperors ⁷¹ ; of these I saw only one.⁷² I found, however, several other inscriptions not seen by him and it is likely that more remain to be discovered among the mass of fallen blocks.

129. On the north slope, re-used in a late wall running down the hillside, a plain block of pale grey limestone 1·16 h., 0·58 w., 0·55 th. ; dowel-hole and lead-channel in the upper surface ; 15 cm. has been cut away from the right side of the inscribed surface ; top right corner broken away. The inscription begins close under the top edge, indifferently written in letters 38 mm. high in line 1, decreasing to 28–30 mm. below.

[ἀγωνοθετούσης τῆς]
 ἀξιολ[ογωτάτης]
 Αὐρη[λίας]
 Πολυηρ[-----]
 Ἄρτεμεισίας
 5 ἀγῶνα πενταετη[ρικὸν]
 Ἄρτεμείσιον
 ἀχθέντα τὸ α'
 Αὐρήλιον Περικλε[ίδην ?]
 βουλευτήν
 10 νεικήσαντα ἀνδ[ρῶν]
 πανκράτιν

Immediately below, in a crudely incised wreath :

Ἡρά-
 κλεις

The inscription must have begun on a block above.

Line 7. τὸ is written as a τ with a tiny *omicron* above it.

Line 8. Περικλε[ίδην] or the like, rather than Περικλέ[α], for the sake of symmetry.

The name in line 3, which recurs in No. 130, might be Πολυηρ[άτης], a known name, but ought perhaps rather to be restored as a feminine form of her brother's name Πολυηρωτα-. This name looks vaguely Greek, but gives no meaning ; in fact, Πολυ- may well be Anatolian ; cf. Polyetta in Part I, p. 97, and Polyara in Caria.

The invocation in lines 12–13 is presumably to Heracles in his character as god of the gymnasium.

130. Lying further down the slope among a mass of fallen debris, a plain limestone block 1·34 h., 0·51 w., 0·61 th. ; the right side of the inscribed surface is cut

⁷¹ *BCH.* XVI (1892), 436 sqq., Nos. 70–5.

⁷² His No. 73 (= *IGR.* III, 388). The first line of this was wrongly copied by him : in place of [Κ]όμ[μοδον], Σφοῦρη[ον] is certain. I saw also two of the three fragments comprising his No. 76 (= *IGR.* III, 385) and found that this, too, is wrongly copied : the stone has not -ΗΛΙΩ, but -ΑΝΩ ; the building was dedicated to Antoninus Pius. Bérard's texts in general are none too reliable ; cf. *Belleten* XVIII (1954), 482, No. 14.

away for 5 cm. Letters 23–30 mm. high, *omicron* mostly written very small. Line 1 broken away on the right. Photograph, Pl. Xd.

Αὐρηλία Πολυη[ρ - - -]
 Ἀρτεμεισία
 ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη, ἀγων[οθέτις]
 δι' αἰῶνος,
 5 τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστ[ησεν]
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
 τοῦ γενομένου αὐτῇ[ς]
 ἀδελφοῦ
 τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμ[ης]
 10 Αὐρήλιον Πολυηρωτα[-]
 Λάγον

Line 3. The restoration is too long for the available space. The word may have been abbreviated; cf. Part I, No. 28. Lines 10–11. Accusative, where the genitive would be expected, by a sort of apposition to ἀνδριάντα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.

Aur. Artemisia, having founded the games called after her ἀγῶν Ἀρτεμεισίου, bears the honorary title of ἀγωνοθέτις δι' αἰῶνος “perpetual agonothete” (cf. No. 105 above). δι' αἰῶνος “for all time”, rather than “for her lifetime” (= διὰ βίου): see *Magie Roman Rule* 1520, Jones *Greek City* 175.

The expression ὁ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης is rare before the third century, to which the inscription evidently belongs. τοῦ γενομένου ἀδελφοῦ “her late brother”: see above, No. 128, line 4.

The main necropolis is on the north-west slope just below the city. It contains the ruins of many built tombs; and at one point an outcrop of rock has been levelled at the top for a small sarcophagus and the face of the rock smoothed to receive a relief showing a human bust arched over, with a ledge below.

131. Main necropolis, among the ruins of a mausoleum well built of squared blocks with coffered ceiling, three joining fragments of a lintel-block, complete on the right, 0.42 h., 0.43 th., combined length 1.25. Three fasciae; monumental lettering on the upper two, 7 cm. high in line 1, 5.5 cm. in line 2.

[- -]α Νανηρις [τῷ πατρὶ ?] Αἰλι-
 [- -]νφ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ *vacat*

The female name Naneris is known: see *Annuario* III (1916–20), 150, at the site near Kozan which is perhaps Pednelissus; and cf. Νανηριανός at Ariassus (*BCH.* XVI, 433).

132. Among the ruins of another mausoleum a little higher up to the west, two blocks each 0.58 h., 0.36 th., apparently belonging to a single inscription; (a) is 0.64 long, broken on right and left, (b) is 0.96 long, broken on the left. Letters 6.5 cm. high, but in (b) 4 7.5 cm. It is not clear whether the two fragments join and I could not move them to try.

(a)	(b)
[- - - Φ]ιλίππιαυ	ὅς <i>vacat</i>
[- - -] <i>vac.</i> Μηνοδωρ	<i>vacat</i>
[- - -] τῇ γυναικί	<i>vacat</i>
[- - -] μωνω	[- - - τ]ῇ θυγατρὶ

It is not clear why the words τῇ θυγατρὶ were written larger than the rest.

On the adjoining hill, between the main site and the *nahiye*, facing east, is a handsome rock-cut tomb of almost Phrygian type. At the foot are two high steps, above which, on the smoothed rock-face, is a relief in a panel surmounted by a pediment, with a pilaster on each side; the whole monument is about 10 m. high. The relief apparently depicts a standing female figure, but it has been deliberately defaced. There seems to have been originally a gable cornice above, but the blocks composing it have fallen. There is no inscription.⁷³

This site was identified by Bérard with the city of Milyas recorded by Ptolemy, and this has been fairly generally accepted.⁷⁴ It rests almost solely on the similarity of name⁷⁵: no city of Milyas is mentioned in any other source, nor is any trace of it known from inscriptions or coins.⁷⁶ I do not know if I am alone in doubting its authenticity. Ptolemy is unsatisfactory on Milyas. In his section on Lycia he has a subsection Milyas, which comprises the four towns Podalia, Nisa, Choma and Candyba. Of these Podalia and perhaps Choma were in the region of the plain of Elmalı and might rank as Milyadic, but Nisa and Candyba are beyond any reasonable limits of the Milyas.⁷⁷ The *city* of Milyas comes in his chapter on Pamphylia, in the subsection "Carbalia"; this, and the subsection "Phrygian Pisidia", include the cities of Strabo's Milyas. I note, as a curious circumstance which may be thought significant, that on Ptolemy's map the name Milyas is not, as the names of cities regularly are, enclosed in a frame of red ink.⁷⁸ Further evidence may settle the question any day; but until then I cannot help feeling that it would be wise to regard with suspicion the identification of Melli with Milyas. If stress may be laid on the order of mention in Hierocles, where Δεμουσία immediately follows Κόδρουλα, it would be

⁷³ My photograph of this tomb was unfortunately damaged in the printing; such as it is, I shall be pleased to send it to anyone who is interested.

⁷⁴ e.g. by Kiepert (who had, indeed, previously proposed the identification on the strength of the name Milli: *FOA.* IX, text p. 6, n. 82). Recent writers have been somewhat taciturn; e.g. Jones and Magie, in their accounts of the region Milyas, make no mention of the *city*. Similarly *RE.* s.v. "Milye".

⁷⁵ Melli has no meaning in Turkish and Milli no probable meaning; *millî* means "national". It may be added that Ptolemy's location (see Fig. 2) agrees quite well with the position of Melli.

⁷⁶ No exception need be made of the inscription published in *Mon. Linc.* XXIX (1933), 679, and mentioned by Jones *CERP.* 556 (fine payable τῷ Μι(λύ)ων - - -). It comes from the region of Phaselis, which is far removed from Melli.

⁷⁷ See the discussion in Magie *Roman Rule* 761.

⁷⁸ Such unenclosed names are mostly those of rivers and tribes; Milyas is the only such name in this part of the world. Yet its position on Ptolemy's map agrees well with his figures for the city of Milyas and very poorly with his region of Milyas.

attractive to suggest that Melli is Codrula ; Sia, near Karaot, lies about 8 miles west-south-west across the hills. But it is safer to leave it without a name.

HYIA

At a spot called Incirli, some two hours south of Bucak and half an hour's climb north-east from the village of Eskiköy, is an ancient city-site which was visited, apparently for the first time, by Miss Barbara Levick in 1955. She kindly informed me of its existence and I paid it a visit in October 1959. The name of the city is revealed by the inscription No. 133 below.⁷⁹ It is in a fine position, immediately above the pass on the road from Susuz and Eskiköy to Bucak, on a rocky scrub-covered hill, whose south and east slopes are occupied by the ruins. These are not unimpressive, though much less is actually standing than at Melli or Karaot. The whole hillside and the pass below are thickly strewn with sherds of the usual types, red and orange sigillata ware being again prominent. The ring-wall is best preserved on the south-east side, where it still stands 4 m. high ; the style is polygonal, but with a strong tendency to coursing, approaching ashlar in some places (Pl. XIIa). Its thickness is 1.30 m. On the south slope are many squared blocks and architectural fragments and the outlines of two or three buildings can be made out ; at one point a rock-cut stairway leads up for several yards. Also on the south slope is a smoothed perpendicular rock-face some 4 m. high, with a number of niches of varying sizes and at various heights (Pl. XIIb) ; this forms one side of a rectangular enclosure some 10 by 6 m., whose other sides are of masonry. The niches do not appear to be made to receive beam-ends and the structure is not, I think, a house ; it may perhaps be rather a small sanctuary, somewhat reminiscent of that at Kaynar Kalesi (above, p. 48). Low down on the east slope is a modern fountain constructed of blocks taken from an ancient building a few yards away to the north ; this building is now utterly destroyed. In the pass itself, close beside the path, is another building of good squared blocks. There is no village of Incirli, the place being now merely a summer pasturage, with a good supply of water.

133. Incirli, built into the wall of a large building of late date on the south slope, a base 1.60 h., 0.61 w., 0.61 th. The upper surface is damaged, but shows remains of two round holes near the edge. Letters 4-4.5 cm. high. The inscription was on the underside as the block lay and, in turning it over, the stone being soft and already cracked, the inscribed face split away in two pieces. Photograph, Pl. Xe.

ὁ δῆμος
ὁ Ὑϊνῶν κατὰ
ψήφισμα ἐτείμη-
σεν Αὐρήλιον Ῥό-

⁷⁹ Miss Levick saw this stone, but owing to its awkward position was unable to read the name.

5 ν . $\delta\omega\nu\alpha$ Τροκόνδο[ν].
 τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα
 αὐτὸς ἀνέστησε ν .
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

Line 2. Between O and Y are traces on the stone resembling a very small *lambda*, but these are (in my opinion) certainly not a letter inserted afterwards, but merely accidental marks. The name of the city is accordingly Hyia (termination uncertain). It appears to be totally unknown hitherto.⁸⁰ Yet the ruins are by no means insignificant ; though less impressive than Poglra or the city at Melli, Hyia is well up to the average of the cities discussed in the present article.

Line 5. There is space for one or two letters at the beginning, but probably nothing was written here ; the surface is damaged, but enough remains to show traces of letters if any had been written. The first letter could be *delta* or *lambda* ; 'Ρόδωνα seems the only likely name and is, in fact, a common one in this region. I take it then that the damage to the stone is ancient and was avoided by the lapicide. As noted above, the stone is soft and breaks easily.

Line 7. Not ἀνέστησε[ν].

134. A few feet away from No. 133, still standing *in situ* on an outcrop of rock prepared to receive it, a tall base 1·80 h., 0·72 w., 0·72 th. In the upper surface is a large ring-shaped sinking with a small hole at one point and in the centre a large dowel-hole. Letters 6–7 cm. high. Photograph, Pl. IX*d*, by Miss Levick, showing the stone as it appeared in 1955 ; since then a piece has been broken off the top left-hand corner by treasure-seeking villagers.

[κ]ατὰ ψήφισμα τοῦ
 δήμου
 Λ. Ἀτείλιος Αὐρηλια-
 νὸς Βάσ σος Λ.
 5 Ἀτείλιον Μητρω-
 νιανὸν Ἀσκλη-
 πιόδωρον τὸν
 υἱόν

The inhabitants of Bucak declared that there were " many " inscribed stones at Incirli, but only these two were forthcoming.

The ancient monuments of the region I have described have a distinct character of their own. They are recognisably different from those of Lycia, Pamphylia and the Cibyratis ; such affinities as they have seem to be rather with Phrygia to the north. In three places at least, Çineovası, Gâvur İni and Melli, I was immediately reminded of the old Phrygian sites. I should certainly hesitate to ascribe any high antiquity to any of these

⁸⁰ It is not, I suppose, excluded that the name should be Via (ὁ δῆμος Οὐιηνῶν, equally unknown), but this is much less likely ; see above, p. 75, in connexion with ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σιηνῶν.

monuments, but something of the early Phrygian tradition may well have lingered on. A further feature reminiscent of Phrygia is the frequent representation of a door on tombstones. For purposes of excavation most of this country would, I imagine, apart from its *hüyüks*, be scarcely rewarding.

POSTSCRIPT

In passing through Burdur in October 1959 I noticed that the museum has recently acquired a number of stones which were not there when I wrote Part I of this article. These include the headless statue from Gâvur Ören mentioned in Part I, p. 109, the curious block from Bereket, *ibid.* p. 111 and Pl. XXc, eight small reliefs of horsemen deities (mostly Kakasbos, but all uninscribed) from the neighbourhood of Korkuteli, and the following stone from Bereket which I did not see there in 1955.

135. Tall base with plain mouldings and no other decoration, 1.60 h., 0.47 w., 0.47 th. Letters 3-4.5 cm. high, indifferently cut.

Ἀρτέμιδι
ἐπηκόῳ
Ῥόδων Ἀρτεμει
Εἰάδος ἱε-
5 ρόδουλος
ἀνέθηκεν
εὐχήν

In the Lysis region, where the cult of Apollo is so frequently attested, there is surprisingly little mention of Artemis.⁸¹ Leto occurs at Büğdüz (Part I, No. 21) and as μητρι Ἀπόλλωνος at Kağlıcık (Ramsay *CB.* I, No. 100).

Ἀρτεμει in line 3 is apparently a metronymic, being the genitive of Ἀρτεμεις, as Ὅσσει of Ὅσσεις (though the latter name is masculine). At Termessus, where the name is especially common, the genitive is Ἀρτεμειτος (*TAM.* III, 407, 690, 723, 817); the dative is normally Ἀρτεμει, occasionally Ἀρτεμειτι. Ὅσσειτος occurs in No. 125 above. Εἰάδος is then either a second name of Artemeis or more likely the name of her mother. A "mammonymic" is, of course, abnormal, but in the particular case of a hierodule is hardly unnatural and seems, in fact, to occur in No. 97 above, q.v. Neither Psekas nor Ias could very well be a male name. For Ias as a slave-name, see Bechtel *HP.* 545.

⁸¹ A mutilated inscription at Kağlıcık (Sterrett *EJ.* 82 = Ramsay *CB.* I, No. 119) appears to be an ex-voto to Artemis: [Ἀρτ]έμιδι [εὐχ]ήν.

EXCAVATIONS AT HACILAR

THIRD PRELIMINARY REPORT, 1959

By JAMES MELLAART

A THIRD SEASON OF excavations at Hacilar, carried out under the auspices of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, lasted from 10th August to 11th September, 1959.¹

The Assistant Director was in charge of the excavations, ably assisted by Mrs. Mellaart, Miss Clare Goff (surveyor), Mr. David Stronach (field assistant and photographer)² and Mr. David French (pottery expert). Mr. David French also kindly provided the transport for the expedition. The Turkish Department of Antiquities was again represented by Bay Osman Aksoy, whose efficiency relieved the Director of much administrative anxiety.

Once again we record our gratitude to Mr. Seton Lloyd for his help and advice, to the Department of Antiquities and to the local authorities in Burdur.

Among the visitors to the Hacilar excavations, we must mention Mr. and Mrs. Seton Lloyd, the Vali of Burdur and a party of local dignitaries from Burdur, Mr. Charles Burney and Miss Burney, who kindly drew our figurines, Professor Machteld Mellink, Bay Burhan Tezcan, Mrs. I. D. Stronach and Mr. and Mrs. J. Lanfear.

Three trained workmen from Beycesultan and Alaca and forty local workmen were employed under Veli Karaaslan, our foreman.

SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF THE 1959 CAMPAIGN

During the initial sounding made in 1957 we had come upon a group of three potters' workshops and a large adjacent courtyard destroyed by fire and belonging to Level II. The 1958 excavations were mainly concerned with clearing a sector of the massive fortress of Level I and little additional knowledge of the Level II settlement was gained except that the presence of a thick wall raised the possibility that it also had been fortified.

Three tasks awaited us in 1959: the architectural character of the Level II settlement needed definition; the size and layout of the fortress of Level I required investigation and last but not least a great sounding in depth, producing buildings as well as a pottery sequence, was essential if we were to be enabled to study the development of the Hacilar culture. As the Level I fortress was built around but not on top of the Level II settlement, not more than 3 feet of earth covers their remains and the conflagration in which both levels had perished provided us with a wealth of pottery and objects. An earlier phase of Level II was similarly

¹ For earlier reports, see *AS.* VIII, 1958, pp. 127-156, and IX, 1959, pp. 51-65.

² The fine photographs reproduced in *AS.* IX, 1959, Pls. VIII-XIII, were generously provided by Miss Josephine Powell, a professional photographer. Plate XV*a-c* in the present number are also her work. I must apologise for the omission of this acknowledgment in the previous number.

destroyed by fire and from this was obtained a new corpus of early Level II pottery. By chance the fortification wall of the Level III settlement was found, preserved to a height of nearly 2 metres, and it again showed unmistakable signs of burning. Unfortunately a sounding could not be undertaken in 1959 and at least one further season is needed to investigate the eight lower levels on a scale which does justice to their importance. There are numerous indications that their investigation will be as rewarding as that of the upper levels and the depth at which they can be reached—never exceeding 5 metres—is such as to present no difficulties.

A glance at the site plan (Fig. 1) and a comparison of the earlier plans (in *AS.* VIII, 1958, p. 131, Fig. 3, and IX, 1959, p. 55, Fig. 2) with the general plan (Fig. 3), drawn at the end of the 1959 season, will show at once to what extent excavation of these two upper levels has progressed. About one-fifth of the fortress of Level I, and about three-quarters of the Level II settlement have now been excavated. The site plan gives the impression of a very extensive investigation, but this is rather misleading, for not only is the Hacilar site larger than was originally thought, but also nowhere have we yet been able to penetrate deeper than Level IIa except in two very restricted soundings. Not a single complete house plan has been found in levels III–IX, though there is enough evidence to show that they exist.

The stratigraphical sequence obtained at Hacilar is best illustrated in tabular form (p. 86), and to this we have added, somewhat tentatively, it must be admitted, such earlier cultures as have recently been brought to light, either during our explorations³ or through the excavations of our Turkish colleagues, Dr. Kılıç Kökten in the Pamphylian caves⁴ and Dr. Enver Bostancı at Beldibi on the Mediterranean coast south of Antalya.⁵ The sequence here suggested has not yet been stratigraphically confirmed, but it is extremely likely that this typological sequence is also a chronological one. If our thesis is correct, then there is no room for a pre-pottery neolithic in South-Western Anatolia.

The importance of Dr. Bostancı's discoveries at Beldibi is evident and the excavation of this site together with the equally important palaeolithic sequence obtained by Dr. Kökten from the Kara'in cave in Pamphylia might eventually produce a cultural sequence extending from the Lower Palaeolithic to the end of the Mesolithic period.

It is highly significant that in the topmost level at Beldibi there should appear not only miniature sickle blades with a silica sheen among the microlithic industry (which shows affinities with the Natufian of Palestine), but also primitive pottery. This is a rather coarse burnished ware, black, brown or red in colour with simple shapes, in fact very much

³ The sites of the Kızılkaya culture, which I hope to publish in the next number of *AS.*

⁴ Kara'in, *Belleten*, XIX, 1955, p. 284 ff., Pl. III (bottom) and Pl. IV. Çark'in and Öküzlü'n, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, VIII—2, 1958, pp. 12–13, Pl. XV, centre.

⁵ See Dr. Enver Bostancı's articles in *Cumhuriyet*, 13th June and 23rd June, 1959.

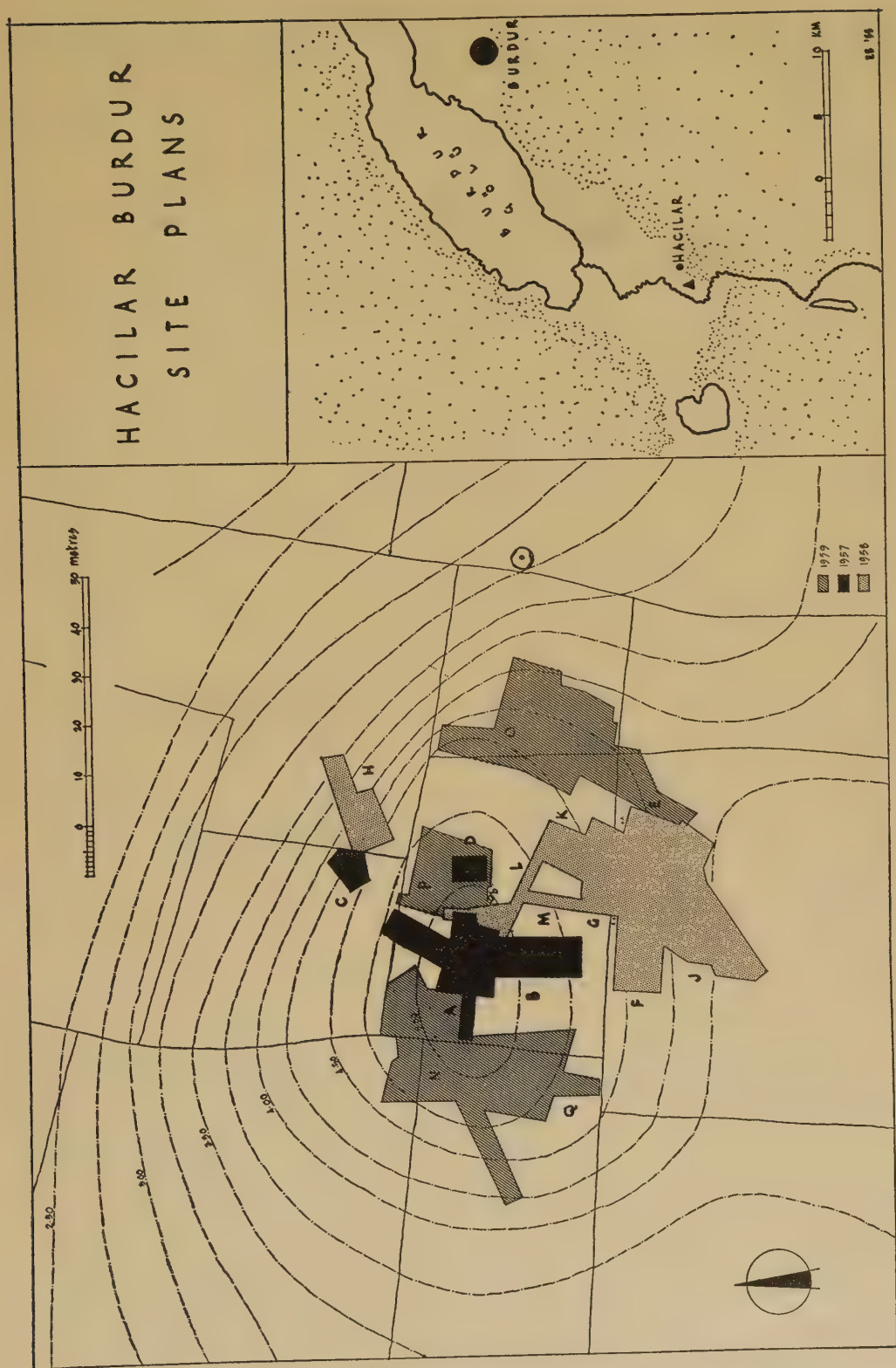


FIG. 1. Site plan of the Hacilar mound.

like what one would imagine the earliest pottery to look like. Typologically this hard-fired ware is earlier than the neolithic wares of Kızılkaya, from which we feel sure the Hacilar IX ware developed.

LATE CHALCO- LITHIC	Hacilar mound II, with Late Chalcolithic ware of Beycesultan type above Hacilar I ware. Same sequence at Dereköy, Hüyük I.	
	deserted	
↑	Hacilar Id.	miserable remains of squatter occupation. Main site probably moved to Mound II at Hacilar, 400 yards further north.
	Ic.	Stone walls of enclosures and poorly preserved floors and hearths. Site possibly removed to Mound II as in phase Id.
EARLY	destroyed in conflagration	
	Hacilar Ib.	Repairs and alterations to the Ia fortress.
CHALCO-	Ia.	Fortress surrounding the old mound. About one-fifth excavated.
	destroyed in conflagration	
	Hacilar IIb.	Fortified settlement. Eastern half remodelled after fire. About three-quarters excavated.
LITHIC		At least the eastern half destroyed by fire.
	IIa.	Fortified settlement. N.E. quarter excavated.
	traces of burning	
	Hacilar III.	Fortified. Burnt floor and postholes.
	IV.	Part of one house excavated.
	V.	only floor found in sounding.
	INADEQUATELY	
C.14 date		
5590 B.C.	traces of burning	
	Hacilar VIb.	fragmentary walls of rectangular houses.
	VIa.	
"LATE NEOLITHIC" with first painted pottery.	VII.	fragments of walls and plaster floors.
	VIII.	stone wall and floors.
	IX.	floors only in sounding.
	INVESTIGATED	
	VIRGIN SOIL	
	Kızılkaya (Bademağacı) Mound (unexcavated) and deposits in Pamphylian caves (Kara'in and Çark'in).	
NEOLITHIC	Typologically earlier pottery: cream and dark burnished wares, related to those of neolithic Mersin, Çatal Hüyük and Çukurkent cultures.	
	Beldibi (Antalya) rock shelter	
MESOLITHIC	Mesolithic (microlithic industry) with pottery.	
	Mesolithic (microlithic industry) without pottery.	
LATE PALAEOLITHIC	Late Palaeolithic.	

Tentative chronological sequence for the earliest cultures in South-Western Anatolia (December 1959).

Paintings of goats and ibexes in red ochre and manganese on the limestone walls of this rock shelter cannot be later than the Mesolithic period, though they may be earlier. What is interesting is that the use of red ochre and some of these designs should be reflected on some of the much later Hacilar pottery. Is this a further link, however remote?

The tanged points of the late palaeolithic levels at Beldibi are also of great interest, for it should be remembered that we have as yet no ancestors for the sophisticated obsidian tanged lance and arrowheads, which are such a conspicuous feature of the neolithic cultures of (middle) neolithic Mersin, Çatal Hüyük, Ilıcapınar and Çukurkent.⁶ Could these be even remotely connected? Dr. Bostanci pointed out to me that the Late Palaeolithic burin techniques survive in Southern Anatolia through the Mesolithic into the neolithic of Cilicia and the Konya Plains.

It must be noted that the chipped stone industry of Hacilar and apparently that of, at least late, Kızılkaya also is poor, not to say decadent. Here there are no traces of the beautiful pressure-flaked lance and arrowheads that further east form such a conspicuous feature of the neolithic. In the late neolithic of Mersin, on the other hand, a decline in chipping was noticed and it may be that Hacilar IX-VI, which also on other grounds can be compared to late neolithic Mersin, shared in this decline, which one suspects is not unrelated to the invention of metallurgy.

In Mersin XXIII copper pins were found⁷ and traces of worked copper (not ore) occur at Hacilar in levels IIa and Ia or b. In these same levels we find small beads made of lazurite, a copper ore, as well as hundreds of limestone beads, all of them provided with threading holes so small that it is just possible to put a thin needle through them. I see no way in which these could have been made other than with metal tools; a hollow tubular drill for cutting the beads and a small drill for making the holes. If we accept this, then those same metal tools would already have been in use in the previous, i.e. the neolithic period, for such lazurite beads have now been found at both Kızılkaya and Çatal Hüyük. That metallurgy actually started at this early period is not impossible and it should be noted that lumps of metal ore figure among the raw material collected on both these sites. This clearly shows that prospecting for gaily coloured or otherwise interesting stones was certainly one of man's occupations at this period, as it still is among the peasants to-day, and in a country so rich in metals as Turkey, the chances are that the use of metal may have been recognised at a much earlier date than has hitherto been suspected.

Discoveries during the last ten years in the Near East and the Balkans have played havoc with the conventional conceptions of cultural development from mesolithic to neolithic. We now have a mesolithic (Natufian) village with proper architecture and probably an early form of agriculture at Eynan in Northern Israel; protoneolithic settled occupation developing into a walled town in pre-pottery Jericho; agriculture in

⁶ *Istanbul Mitteilungen*, 8, 1958, p. 82 f. (written in 1953); *Preh. Mersin*, Figs. 5, 6.

⁷ *ibid.*, Fig. 50, p. 76.

pre-pottery neolithic Thessaly, a retrogressive non-pottery township at Khirokitia in Cyprus, where pottery making was early abandoned, etc.

To this we may now add a mesolithic site with pottery and possibly agriculture at Belbibi in South-Western Anatolia; a series of pottery neolithic cultures, at least contemporary with pre-pottery neolithic B of Jericho and with the non-pottery site of Khirokitia; and the possibility of metal working in the neolithic at Kızılkaya and Çatal Hüyük, a town site nearly twice the size of Jericho.

At Hacilar we have fortified settlements in levels II and III and a fortress the size of Troy II in Level I, much later than the pre-pottery towns of Jericho, but nevertheless early enough. Is it not possible that many of our "open villages" were in reality fortified, just as they appear to have been in the Early Bronze Age, at least in Anatolia? Would it not be worth while to find out if fortification was the rule at Hacilar from the very beginning, or if it were not, when this habit started and why? Jericho has just shown us what may be found in the lower levels of a mound by methodical concentration on those earliest levels and one can only regret that the massive superimposed layers of later occupation made "horizontal" exploitation impossible, a feature that does not apply to Hacilar to the same extent as it inevitably would e.g. at Çatal Hüyük.

The transition from the mesolithic to the neolithic and the development of the latter into the chalcolithic is of such absorbing interest for the study of cultural development that it is only fair to ask that, now that more and more attention is being paid to these aspects of archaeology in Palestine, Iraq, Greece and now also in the Balkans, research of this kind in Anatolia, the natural and vital link between these two areas, should be supported as a long range project by some interested institution that can provide the necessary funds. The same could be urged for Syria, Iran and Egypt, but in Anatolia we have the advantage of having already found the sites.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE HACILAR CULTURE AND ITS EXTERNAL RELATIONS

The geographical distribution of the Hacilar culture, as known at present, is shown on the map (Fig. 2). It is now known to extend from the Sincanlı Ovası, south of Afyon Karahisar, to the southernmost plain on the Anatolian plateau, that of Elmalı in Central Lycia, and it has even been found in cave deposits in Pamphylia, north of Antalya. Its eastern limit is not yet known, but it does not appear to have reached the Lake of Eğridir. Around the Lake of Beyşehir one already enters a new culture province, that of the Çatal Hüyük West culture with a different type of painted pottery, which has its centre in the Konya Plain and is so far not yet well represented in the Beyşehir-Seydişehir area.

It seems likely that when survey work progresses we shall find that the Hacilar culture occupied most of the alluvial plains on the South-Western Anatolian plateau and there is already evidence to suggest that it, or closely related painted pottery cultures, are still more widespread in Western Anatolia. I want to draw attention to one sherd from Çukurhisar,

west of Eskişehir, found by K. Bittel, which could well be related to Hacilar I.⁸ One single sherd, one might argue, is poor evidence, but it should be remembered that until the discovery of Hacilar in 1956, our evidence for that rich culture was based on exactly ten painted sherds

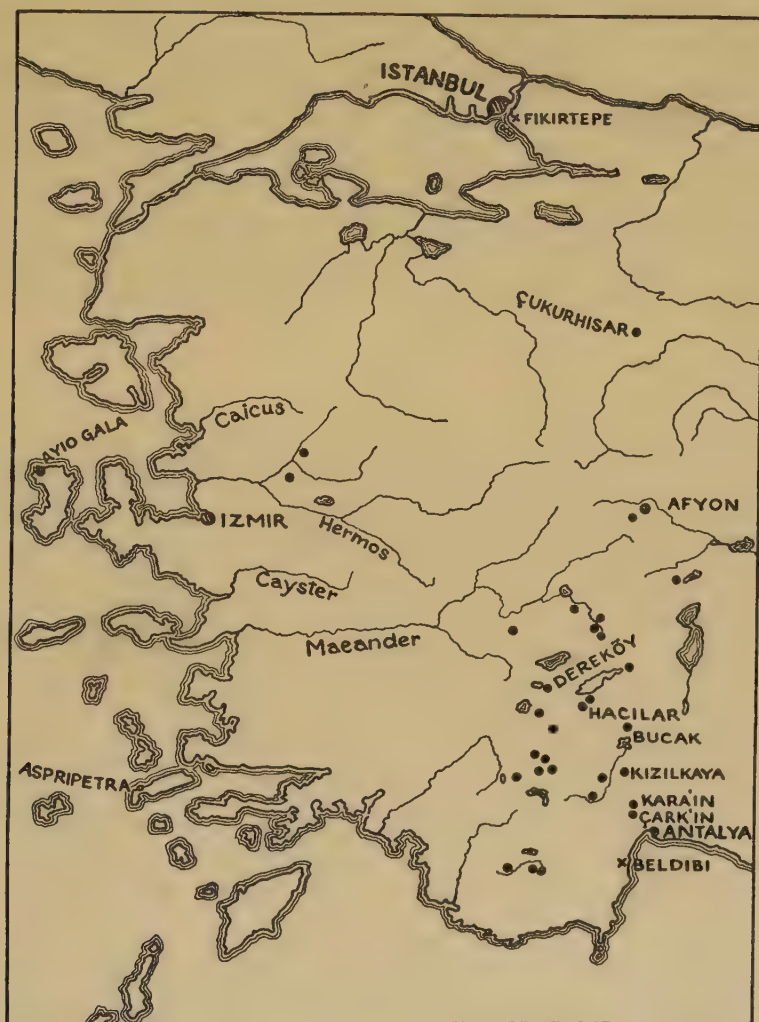


FIG. 2. Distribution map of the Hacilar culture.

from seven different sites I found during the 1951-52 survey.⁹ One or two painted sherds were found long ago in the Aspripetra cave in Cos and another at Ayio Gala in Chios, together with heads of figurines and much monochrome ware.¹⁰ The latter finds can certainly be correlated with the Hacilar culture and the former may possibly belong to the same complex. These two sites may seem to be somewhat on the periphery of

⁸ *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 6, 1955, p. 75 and Fig. 96 (on p. 72).

⁹ *AS*, IV, 1954, pp. 182-4, Figs. 43-5, 51-6, 59, 60.

¹⁰ *PPS*, XXII, 1956, p. 193 (Aspripetra); p. 197; Fig. 13, 3 (Ayio Gala).

our culture, but the gap is rapidly being closed by Mr. David French's archaeological surveys in western Anatolia. In the Akhisar-Manisa region he has now found traces of several settlements with painted and monochrome pottery of Hacilar type.¹¹ It is too early to say whether we are dealing with a western form of the Hacilar culture or with a closely related one. Finally Theochares' discovery of pottery resembling that of the earliest levels at Hacilar (IX-VI) on a site on the east coast of Skyros, halfway between Chios and Thessaly, should be mentioned.¹²

It would therefore cause little surprise to find eventually that as during the Late Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age, the Greek islands off the Anatolian coast were already drawn within the West Anatolian orbit, during this early period. That they should present local peculiarities and variations on a common scheme, is inevitable, just as it is far from certain that all Hacilar sites made use of the same repertoire of patterns or shapes.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS

In our "First Preliminary Report" (*AS. VIII*, 1958, pp. 153-6) we stressed, if not over-stressed, the links between the Hacilar and the Sesklo cultures. In the light of subsequent discoveries, some modifications are required, even within the compass of this preliminary report. A visit to the Larisa and Athens museums has shown that, though techniques and wares are virtually the same, shapes and common motifs are not, each culture having its own particular set. The so-called flame pattern, so common in Thessaly, is quite unknown in the Hacilar culture, and not a single one of the more typical geometric or curvilinear patterns, including spirals, at Hacilar is matched in Thessaly. Evidently both cultures had their own repertoire of patterns, as well as of shapes. Ovals, if existing at all in Thessaly, are not conspicuous, as they are at Hacilar, and to a certain extent also in the Çatal Hüyük West culture of the Konya plain and in Cilicia. On the other hand, most Sesklo shapes are unusual at Hacilar or further east.

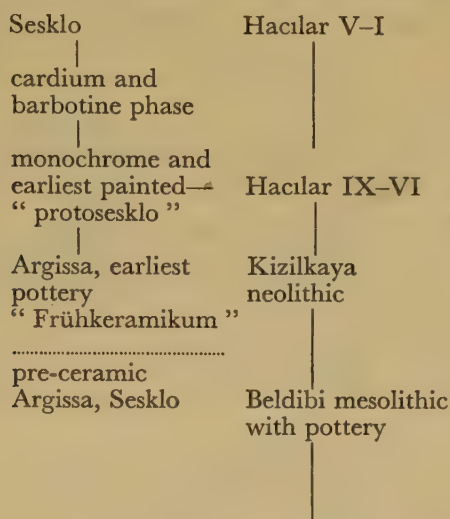
It now looks as if the undeniable resemblances between these two cultures are probably best explained by a common ancestry, followed by divergence. For this we shall have to probe back into an earlier phase and for what it is worth one might mention that one cannot help being struck by the resemblance the so-called protosesklo painted pottery¹³ bears to the earliest painted wares of Hacilar IX-VII, or by the familiar look and (possibly) shapes of the earliest pottery from Thessaly, the "Frühkeramikum" from Argissa in the Larisa Museum, which strongly resembles the Kızılkaya and Çatal Hüyük neolithic wares. If this is the earliest pottery in Greece, one can only say that it is extremely unlikely that it was not made by immigrants from Anatolia. The relations between

¹¹ Information kindly supplied by Mr. David French; sherds in BIAA.

¹² *Αρχαίον Ευβοϊκῶν Μελετῶν*, Vol. 6, 1959, pp. 321-2, Figs. 33-7.

¹³ *AA.* 1955, p. 162, Fig. 3, i, 3, and *AA.* 1956, p. 162, Fig. 6.

Sesklo and Hacilar might perhaps be expressed in the following scheme, which, it should be noted, remains to be confirmed by future excavations.



Now it is not only to the Sesklo culture of Thessaly, the obvious centre of “Neolithic” Greece, that Hacilar shows certain resemblances. The Starčevo culture of the Balkans has usually been treated as an offshoot from Thessaly. In broad lines this may be true and obviously a whole series of Seskloid elements can be found in this culture. However, the emergence of painted pottery cultures in Western Anatolia and the comparatively recent discovery of the wide spread of this Starčevo culture (or perhaps better, culture complex) into such regions as eastern Bulgaria (Karanovo), Rumania and, most recent of all, in Greek Thrace along the northern shore of the Aegean, brings it theoretically at least within the range of Anatolian influences. If such can be detected westward across the Aegean, which I think nobody doubts, then we might expect the same northwards, if not by sea, then by land. For such a land route there is in this period, at least, not yet any evidence and such contact as there was may have been by sea, as with Thessaly. That this is not a mere academic consideration we shall now attempt to suggest by a few facts. A good stratigraphic sequence of the Starčevo culture(s), such as probably exists at Vršnik in Yugoslav Macedonia¹⁴ and in Karanovo,¹⁵ has not yet been published and any comparisons are therefore less specific than one might wish them to be.

Bone spatulae, such as occur on virtually every Starčevo site, are typical for levels I and II at Hacilar and so are the adzes and chisels set in antler sleeves. Hacilar, on the other hand, also uses axes, like Sesklo. Sickles consisting of flint, or at Hacilar obsidian blades, set end to end in grooved polished bone handles, were used at Karanovo I *a* and in Hacilar II possibly to reap the native *einkorn* wheat (as in Thessaly) and

¹⁴ M. Garašin in *39 Ber. RGK.* 1958, p. 109, note 570. Carbon date for Vršnik III, 4915 B.C. $\pm$ 150.

¹⁵ *Archaeology*, XII, 2, 1959, p. 88 f.; *Soviet Archaeology*, 1958, No. 1, p. 47 ff.

the foreign *emmer*¹⁶ (Banjata and Hacilar II). How did this north Mesopotamian and Syrian variety of wheat, cultivated at Hacilar, reach the Maritsa valley, if not by way of Anatolia? Bread was baked in low clay ovens at Karanovo and in high domed ones in Hacilar II and I. Slings were used but not arrowheads. Clay stamp seals, decorated with maeander patterns (among others) occur commonly in Hacilar II and in Starčevo sites north of the Balkans (as well as in Thessaly), where spirals not yet found on stamp seals at Hacilar, were also used.¹⁷

White-on-red painted pottery occurs in the earliest level at Vršnik (I), whereas black on red becomes common only later. White-on-red is also common in Bulgaria and at Hacilar appears apparently not until Hacilar I. Some typical patterns of this white-on-red ware, such as loops hanging from the rim and the twig-like patterns on a Starčevo goblet from Serbia,¹⁸ are remarkably like Hacilar I patterns, but the bulk of them is different.

Far more striking is the use of oval vessels at Galepsos,¹⁹ the widespread occurrence of bowls on four low ridge-like feet,²⁰ and that of the lentoid flask with four lugs,²¹ all features common in Level II at Hacilar. Pedestalled bowls with rather low pedestals, sometimes provided with triangular or round "windows" are a shape not found until last year at Hacilar (Level II), but familiar in Starčevo (Bulgaria), Serbia and the Körös culture.²²

Few as these parallels may be, they are worth quoting, for it is not impossible that Anatolian influence also had some part in shaping the Starčevo culture complex, as M. Garašin in recently hinted. It should be noted, however, that all our parallels comes from the latest two levels at Hacilar, and unless further excavations should show the contrary, the possible relations between these two cultures would seem to be confined to the end of the Hacilar period, which is in keeping with the somewhat later dating of this culture *vis-à-vis* the Sesklo (and the Hacilar) cultures.

THE LEVEL I FORTRESS (Figs. 3 and 4)

The fortress of Level I, which succeeded the burnt settlement of Level IIb, consisted of a great ring of buildings, surrounding the old mound, on which, however, no new structures were erected.

This open centre of the fortress—one might call it a central courtyard—measured some 100 metres from east to west and certainly as much from

¹⁶ 39 Ber. RGK. 1958, note 57.

¹⁷ Childe, *Dawn*, 6th ed., 1957, p. 85 ff.

¹⁸ D. Arandjelović Garašin, *Starčevačka Kultura*, Ljubljana 1954, Pl. XII.

¹⁹ F. Schachermeyr, *Die Ältesten Kulturen Griechenlands*, p. 108 f., Fig. 23.

²⁰ e.g. Gaul, *The neolithic period in Bulgaria*, Pl. III, 3 (white-on-red from Kremikovci; II, 6; XVI, 13; Childe, op. cit., p. 86).

²¹ AS. VIII, 1958, p. 145, Fig. 8, 17 (Level III); Childe, op. cit., p. 90; *Starčevačka Kultura*, Pl. X, 33; *Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice*, III, p. 74, Fig. 7, No. 1, oval aberrant form, from Perieni.

²² *Starčevačka Kultura*, Pl. X, 33, XII; *Archaeology*, XII, 2, 1959, p. 93; *Ștudi și Cercetări Istorie Veche*, I, 1951, p. 57, Fig. 9 (Valea Lupului).

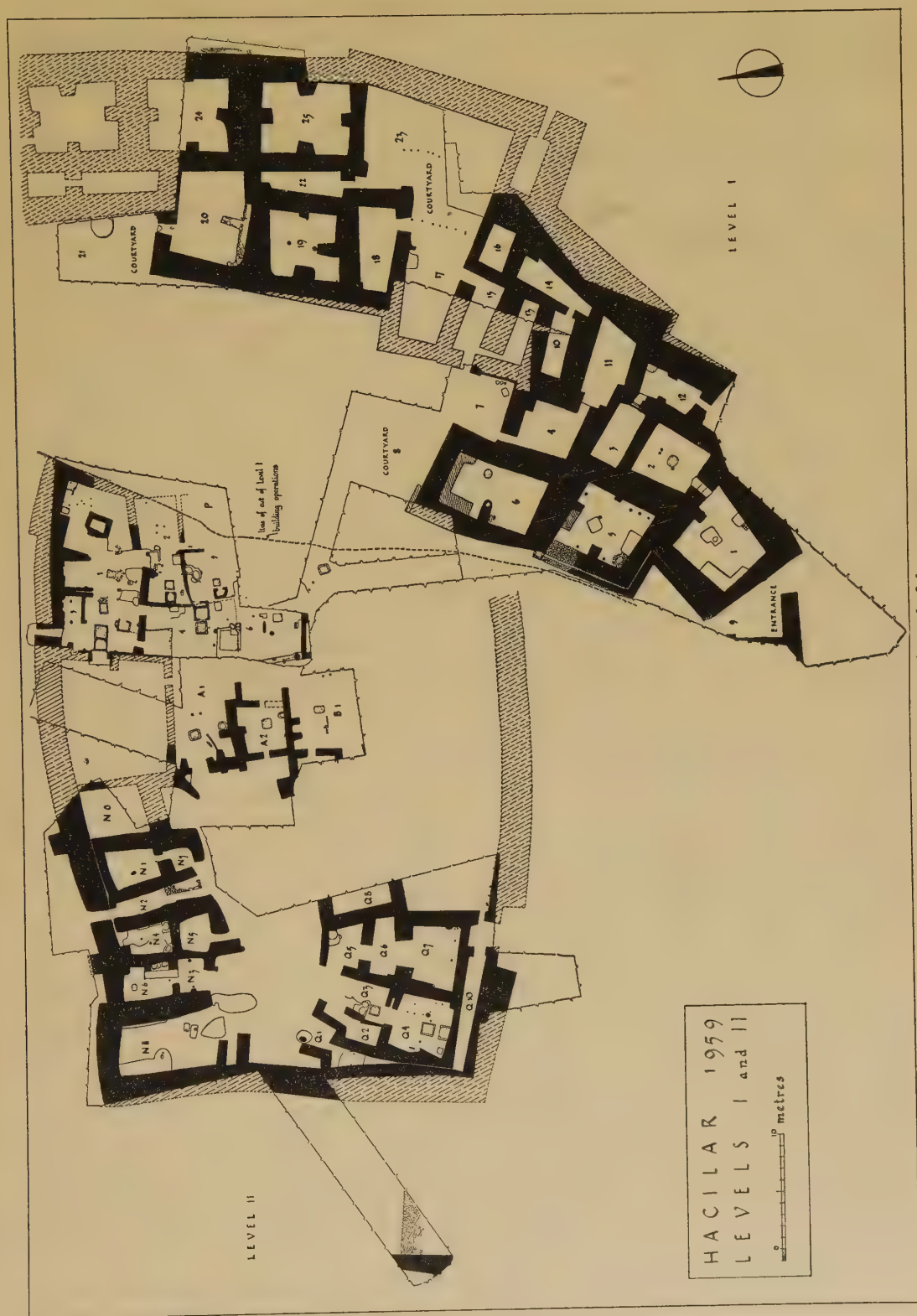


FIG. 3. General plan at the end of the 1959 season.

north to south. The buildings along the inside of the enclosure wall formed a thickness of some 20 to 25 metres, so that the exterior diameter of the fortress was about 150 metres, i.e. a little larger than the stronghold of Troy II.

As no excavations have been carried out outside the fortress we do not know whether it stood by itself or formed the nucleus or citadel of a township.

Within the circuit of the walls there were no free standing houses. Instead rooms of various sizes were grouped in blocks of irregular shape and provided with a common outer wall of considerable thickness. These blocks were separated from each other by open courtyards, containing domed ovens, rubbish pits, postholes for fences, lean-to sheds or porticoes, and they were also walled in. Through the courtyards the fortress was entered and doorways led from the courtyard into the blocks of rooms. Only in the case of what are obviously guardrooms did a narrow doorway lead straight into the building, but at ground level at least there was no way of communication between guardroom and the rest of the block.

The plan of this fortress in so far as it has been excavated presents some puzzling features and that for more than one reason. In the first place the plan is that of the ground floor of a building, which we know had an upper storey (or even storeys, for there is no limit to what can be built on walls as thick as this in light materials, mainly wood and plaster). From the contents of the upper storey which collapsed during the conflagration in which the fortress perished and from the corresponding scarcity of finds in the ground floor or basement rooms, we know that the principal apartments were on the upper floor. The absence of doorways in the greater number of rooms is thus explained and these must have been entered from above, either by means of a wooden staircase or a ladder. That these lower rooms were used is proved by the presence of hearths, benches, post- and potholes, ochre querns and a number of pots and sherds found *in situ* on the floors which are invariably covered with a thick layer of decayed rushes. In one or two rooms we found the impressions of mats. Only a few passages south of the courtyard were empty and devoid of any vestiges of occupation (Rooms 10, 13-16).

Then it is impossible to recognise any units which can be interpreted as private houses, such as we find in the settlement of Level II or in the fortress of Mersin XVI.²³ Moreover, nowhere have we been able to distinguish between parts that were built earlier and others that were built later (except for some obvious later alterations of phase Ib, clearly distinguished by the use of different bricks and higher floor levels). As far as one can see the whole fortress was laid out and constructed in a single building operation and this is fully supported by the extensive levelling operations undertaken on the lower slopes of the mound preparatory to the actual building process.

These levelling operations show a remarkable degree of efficiency for

²³ *Preh. Mersin*, Figs. 79 and 80a.

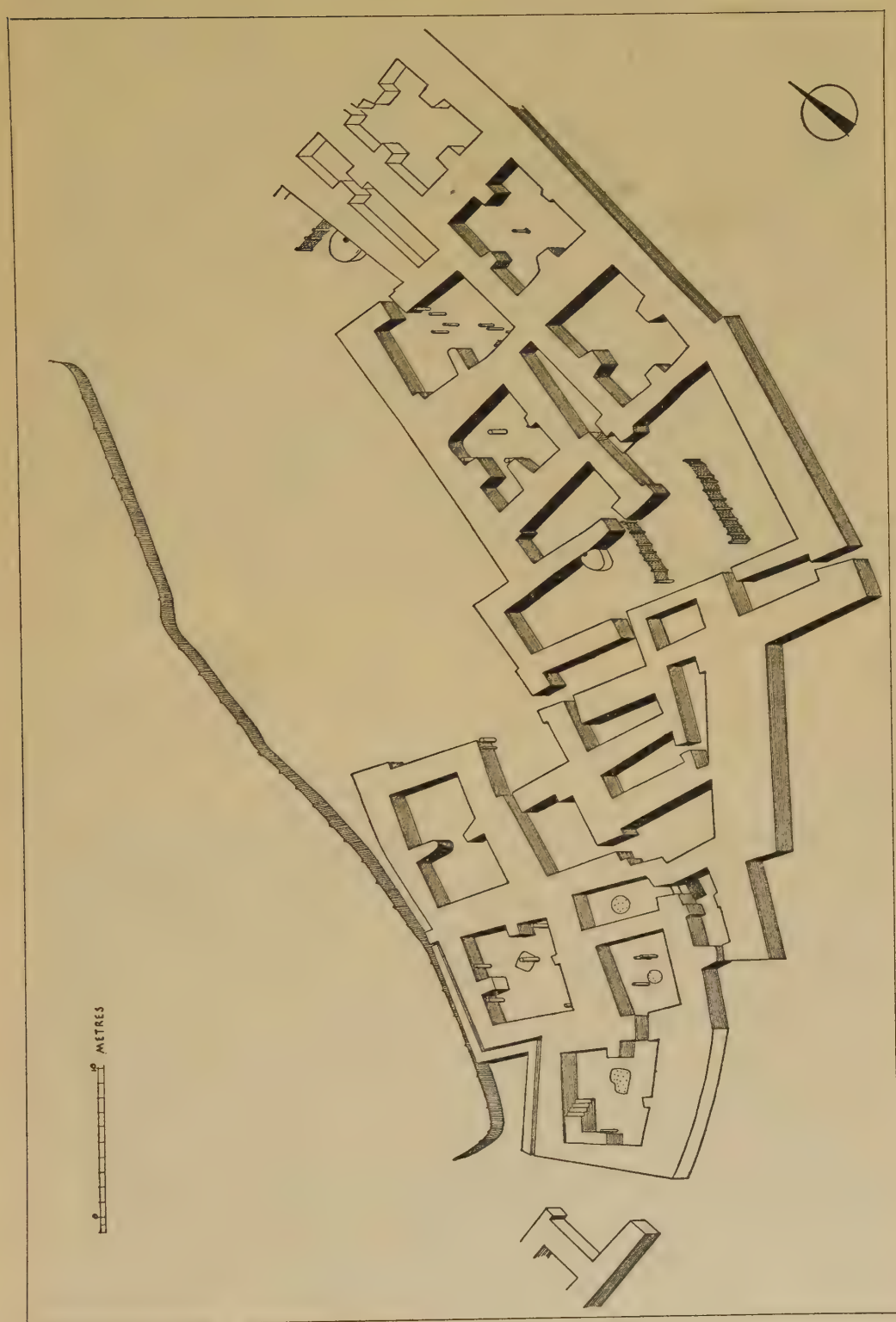


FIG. 4. Isometric plan of the Level I Fortress.

over the distance of about 70 metres the difference in actual level amounted to a mere 15 cm. A large part of the east side of the mound was cut away and where necessary, as behind Rooms 5 and 6 and perhaps Room 1 also, a retaining wall was built. The line of the cutting is marked by a dotted line on the plan and on the western side of the mound, between the Level II settlement and the fortress, a similar cutting was found.

On this prepared platform the fortress was built. No foundations were sunk but they were laid out on the level floor (which thus runs underneath them !) and on this stone footing the mudbrick was laid, with little or no bonding. Once or twice twigs were laid in the mudbrick, but there was no question of a framework of wooden beams, either verticals or uprights, such as we find in the Bronze Age. Judging by the remains the upper floor (or floors) were lightly built, probably of wood and plaster with some brick, and the whole upper storey must have resembled the airy rooms, porticoes, verandas and loggias which are still such a feature of the Anatolian villages in wooded areas or of the great wooden houses of the rich in the days of the Ottoman Empire. Here also, it should be noted, civilised life goes on on the upper floor and the ground floor is used as living quarters only in winter, or normally for storage and stabling. Only poor peasants live in one-storeyed houses.

However, the main reason for the lack of doorways on the ground floor of the fortress was evidently defence, and raising the main floor about 3 metres above ground level not only gave the defenders extra height, but also a better view over the surrounding countryside. Even if the enemy managed to penetrate into the courtyards he would still be confronted by a baffling lack of doorways and the one or two that did present themselves could easily be barred. Each block could have been defended as a single unit, and as in the case of Norman keeps, their peculiar method of construction turned them into death-traps for the defenders. Charred human bones, mainly of children, were found in Rooms 5 and 6, among masses of greasy black material, burnt brick, charcoal, pots and objects, all collapsed from the upper storey into the rooms below.

The complexity of the plan, the massive walls, the tortuous entrance passage (15) connecting courtyard 23 with the central courtyard (8), the semi-concealed corridors 13 and 22 which probably carried wooden staircases leading to the main floors, and the huge size of certain rooms (e.g. 20, measuring 5.5 by 8.5 metres) show clearly that this building was probably the fortress of the ruler of Hacılar I and not just a series of private houses sheltering behind a common enclosure wall. We are still not absolutely certain that the outer wall has actually been reached and the entrance into courtyard 23 has still eluded us (the reconstruction on plan and isometric drawing is purely hypothetical). On the western side of the mound we again reached the fortress, but the greater part of the area found in the trench was occupied by a courtyard. It would be extremely interesting to see whether buildings like those on the eastern side of the mound existed all around the circuit of the wall or whether those excavated formed the ruler's residence. With a burnt building of



(a) Fortress, Level I. General view of 1959 excavations, looking north. The workman is seated in courtyard (17).



(b) Level II Settlement. General view of west half, looking south-west. At end of long trench, part of western circuit of Level I fortress.



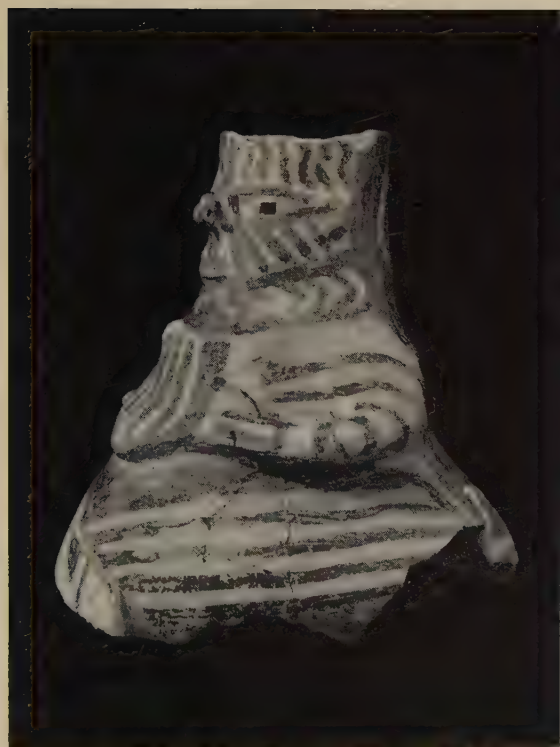
(a) Level II settlement, early phase. Domestic courtyards with bread-ovens and hearths, looking south-east.



(b) Level IIa ; central burial in " Shrine ".



(a)



(b)



(c)

(a-c) Anthropomorphic vessel from Level I, Room 6 (?). Hüseyin Kocabaş Collection, Istanbul
(reproduced by courtesy of the owner).

[Photographs, J. Powell]

this size and age—and we should not forget that it belongs to the end of the 6th millennium!—so near the surface and so full of painted pottery and objects, one feels that for once complete excavation, as at Dimini, is highly desirable (Pl. XIIIa).

THE LEVEL II SETTLEMENT (Figs. 3 and 5)

Three-quarters of the Level II settlement have now been excavated revealing for the first time the lay-out of an Early Chalcolithic settlement in the second half of the 6th millennium B.C. An area of about 57 by 36 metres on top of the mound was surrounded by a mud-brick wall without stone foundations, 1.5 to 3 metres thick and provided with small towers (on stone foundations) and salients at the corners. Two of those towers, somewhat irregularly placed, flanked a narrow doorway that gave access to an entrance passage leading to the west court in the north-west quarter of the settlement (Pl. XIIIb). Two others may have flanked the narrow doorway leading into a building in the north-east corner. The outer face of the enclosure wall has not been excavated here, but if there had been a tower west of that doorway it would have been in the area originally reached in our A trench of 1957. Here modern disturbances (stone robbing) as well as earlier (Hellenistic) ones had left only masses of burnt bricks, all that remained of the former enclosure wall. Its presence was therefore not recognised in 1957. Similarly on the western side of the settlement the wall was badly denuded, having fallen outwards during the destruction of the settlement. No traces of a doorway were found in the west wall, but in the south wall another doorway led through an antechamber into a long corridor on the left and into the south court on the right. Most of this court remains unexcavated. Finally the greater part of the east wall of the settlement had been removed during the levelling operations undertaken before the construction of the later fortress. The line of the south wall can be determined from the cutting west of Room 6 of Level I, where it shows in the section.

The entrance passage (N2) in the north-west sector of the village could be closed by means of a sliding door operated from Room N4, which had no doorway and could only be entered from above, as well as by a second door further south. Built up against it on a platform of boulders was a ruined mud-brick structure which may have been a flight of steps leading to an upper storey, such as appears to have existed over the entrance passage and the houses on either side (N1-7; N4-5; N6-3). Not only are these houses extremely solidly built, like those of the Level I fortress, but two distinct levels of pottery and objects were found in them; one *in situ* on the floor, the other at least 1 metre higher up in the destruction debris. I imagine that a sort of gatehouse tower extended over these structures, commanding a wide view over the fields and orchards which undoubtedly surrounded the settlement. It is interesting to see that most private houses appear to have consisted of a main room (with hearth) and an anteroom, the “but and ben” or “megaron” type. Room N6 had a bench along the east wall on which rested three unbaked clay storage

bins. Another similar house (No) was found east of house N1-7, thus balancing the architectural composition of two houses on either side of the entrance passage. The area between this block and the west wall appears to have been occupied by a granary with a rectangular bin built up against the west wall and several irregular bins with sloping floors and brick or mud kerbs arranged in the available floorspace. A shallow ledge



FIG. 5. Isometric plan of the Level II Settlement.

was built against the east wall of the granary. In the final phase of the settlement a poorly preserved structure overlaid the granary, in which a complete figurine was found (Fig. 7). In the courtyard immediately south of this building there were found the remains of two long elongated oval ovens, the eastern one screened from the porch in front of House N6-3 by a low wall.

The south-west corner of the settlement was occupied by two larger and more elaborately furnished houses, which were unfortunately found in a much denuded state (Pl. XIII*b*). Like the houses just described, they faced on to the west court. One of these (Q5-7) consisted of a small

court with bread-oven in the corner, an anteroom with ash-pit and hearth and a main room, on the second (and later) floor of which was found a large rectangular hearth with raised kerb. The other house (Q₂₋₄) is more interesting in that it preserves the emplacement for a sliding door or screen between the main room (Q₂) and an anteroom (Q₃) provided with bread-oven and hearth. West of the hearth a low screen wall divided it from a further compartment (Q₂) which again had direct access to the west court. Beyond it (Q₁) there was perhaps another grain bin and directly west of room Q₂ an area paved with pebbles and covered with a roof supported by two posts, which may have served for ablutions. In the main room (Q₄) there was an oven, possibly flat-topped, with a raised rectangular hearth in front of it, a row of posts along the east side and an irregular recess in the west wall. Two larger posts may have supported the roof over the hearth and oven. In this house (Room Q₄) there were found some fragments of painted plaster (red-on-white). This house has a number of features in common with the somewhat earlier building in the north-east corner of the settlement which we have reason to believe may have been a shrine.

The centre of the settlement was occupied by three potters workshops excavated in 1957 and fully described in *AS. VIII*, 1958, p. 131 ff. The two northernmost of these houses (A₁ and A₂) communicated with the west court and all three had access to a series of domestic courtyards on the east. North of the potters' workshops lay a large open court extending up to the enclosure wall. The south-east quarter of the settlement has not yet been excavated, but in the eastern half of the settlement we have evidence for two phases (IIa the original and IIb the later), with a complete rebuilding after a disastrous fire which laid this part of the village in ashes. To the later phase belongs the large wall found in 1958, shown on the plan in *AS. IX*, 1959, Fig. 2, and the rebuilding of House A₁. The eastern part in this phase consisted of an open area between this wall and the outer wall of the settlement with some subsidiary structures in the north-east corner near the well. All these are badly denuded, as well as disturbed by the activities of the villagers.

The buildings of the earlier phase (IIa), on the other hand, are of absorbing interest (Fig. 6). Here we found south of the north-east building or shrine, to be described presently, two rows of rectangular domestic courtyards, divided from each other by narrow mud-brick partitions or fences of wattle covered with mud. Each of these contained a domed bread-oven with a rectangular built-up hearth with raised kerb in front of it, numerous querns and grinding stones for grinding corn (and not ochre!), pounders, stone vessels and numerous pots, both monochrome and painted. Unbaked clay receptacles, or bins, rectangular box-like receptacles with traces of a wooden floor as in one of the recesses in House B₁ and any number of postholes, single or grouped in pairs, fours or sixes show that at least parts of these courtyards were provided with roofs (Pl. XIVa). The area is not yet fully excavated and the junction of these courtyards with the B₁ house still lacks definition.

THE "SHRINE" (Figs. 5 and 6)

By far the most interesting building in the Level II settlement lay in the north-east corner. Not less than five doorways led into this building; three from the adjacent courtyards to the south, one from the north court and another through the enclosure wall from the open country. The latter doorway was found closed by a wattle fence, and that leading into the north court was blocked, at least in its lower part, by a large flat-topped oven constructed in front of it and so impeding any means of communication. This, we therefore surmised, was probably a secondary arrangement, but upon removal of the oven it became clear that it was not and this doorway (which incidentally was not blocked or filled up) could therefore never have been used for going in or out of the building.

The main room of the building was large by Hacilar II standards and measured approximately 8 by 6 metres, and contained an almost continuous colonnade of posts, either freestanding, as on its southern and eastern side or engaged against the ends of partition walls. Engaged posts were also found against the west wall and once a pair of posts was found. All engaged posts as well as the walls and floors are carefully plastered. The presence of such a colonnade strongly suggests that the centre of the hall may have been open to the sky and the numerous hearths and ovens in the building may well have necessitated such an arrangement. This hall could be divided into two halves by means of a sliding door or screen, the carefully constructed and plastered partition wall for which was found well preserved. The door or screen when drawn out could be fastened between the two posts of the colonnade on the other side of the hall.

The eastern half of the hall was provided with a deep alcove with a raised floor, in front of which was found a small rectangular hearth of normal type. In the back of the alcove was a broad but shallow recess, unfortunately found empty. The western half was furnished with a flat-topped oven, still standing nearly a metre high, a large raised hearth in front of it and, still in line, a rectangular clay receptacle or bin. Under the portico on the south side there were still other traces of ovens, hearths and bins, though badly ruined.

Parallel to the great alcove in the eastern half of the room was a second but smaller recess in the north wall, in which was found a smooth slab of stone in an upright position. In front of it were two large oval postholes and the recess was screened from the hearth by a low wall of mud-brick, plastered and ending in an engaged post.

North of the oven and built into the west wall was a small fireplace, only differing from modern ones in that it did not have a flue.

Eastward the colonnade opened on to a small court with a stone-lined well, found full of carbonised wheat, barley and almonds or plumstones. Several postholes near it suggest that it was provided with a *shaduf* for drawing water. Along the north wall of this small court there was another hearth and clay bin.

On the floor of this building were found numerous pots, both painted and monochrome, grouped in particular in front of the recess with the

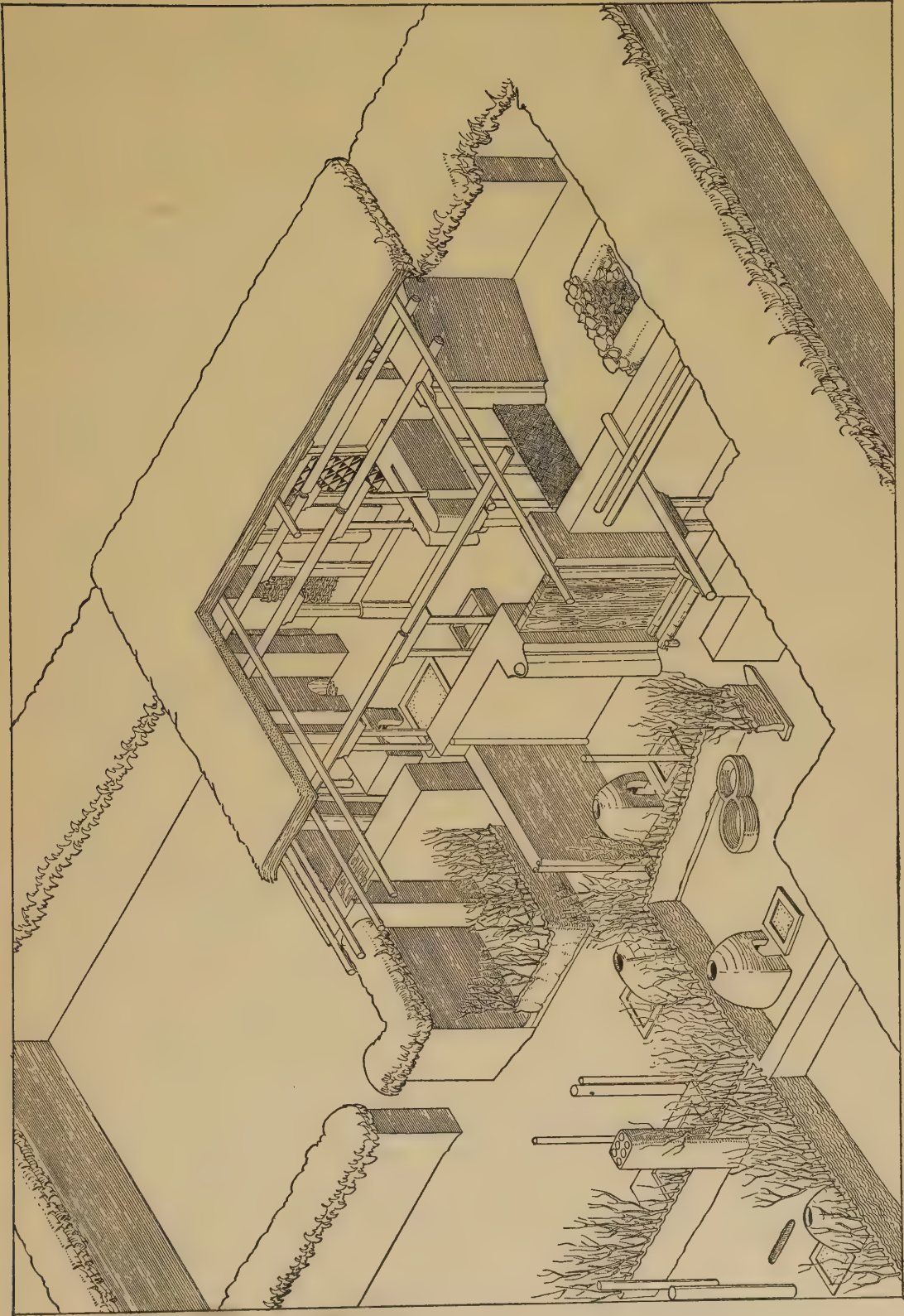


FIG. 6. Reconstruction of the "Shrine" of Level IIa and adjacent domestic courtyards.

standing stone (including a bowl with spout, possibly of ritual use), all around the hearth and around, inside and on top of the oven. Lying next to the hearth was the crouched skeleton of a person, of advanced age judging by the absence of any teeth. The position suggested that this was a victim of the fire.

On cleaning the floor, we found to our surprise one single and two double burials, the first ever found at Hacilar, where judging by our previous experience, extramural burial had seemed to be the rule. The bodies were deposited in tightly contracted position without fixed orientation in irregular hollows made in the floor. The double burials in each case consisted of an adult, presumably a female, and a child. Funerary gifts were sparse, not more than two painted pots were buried with each, and sometimes less. It is interesting that these pots were all cups or bowls, a big one accompanying the adult, a small one the child (Pl. XIV*b*). With this child was also found a strange baked clay object with pointillé designs. The skeletal material is being examined in Ankara by Professor Dr. Muzaffer Şenyürek, but it can already be stated that some of the skulls are dolichocephalic.

The interpretation of this building as a house presents great difficulties; the half-blocked doorway from the court and the masses of pots around it provides a striking parallel for a similar arrangement in the easternmost room of the Middle Bronze Age temple of Beycesultan Level V.²⁴ The double niches immediately remind one of the small shrine in pre-pottery neolithic B Jericho, where again a smooth slab of stone was found in association with the niche.²⁵ It is tempting to regard the small niche with standing stone as the male shrine and the larger and more elaborate one with that of the female deity. Is this the ancestor for the twin shrines of E.B.A. Beycesultan? and was there once a larger shrine next to the small one at Jericho? Is the well next to the shrine, or the bodies below the floor just mere coincidence? It would be difficult to believe that. And what would be more likely than that an agricultural community, such as that of Hacilar definitely was, should construct a shrine for their goddess and her husband in the form of an elaborate house, fully equipped with all such paraphernalia as a fertility goddess might require. Here is the water supply placed in the protection of the shrine, the ovens for baking bread, the daily food of the community and the burials of mother and child, buried in holy ground. Even the small door, closed by a fence, and leading to the open fields beyond, or the court possibly open to the sky, could be associated with religious beliefs. Through the half-open doorway the priest (or priestess?) could receive the offerings for the deity from the populace, who were not allowed to enter the sacred precincts. And who was the solitary old person that perished in the shrine if not the servant of their deity?

One must not let one's fancy carry one away, but it would be difficult

²⁴ *AS.* IX, 1959, p. 35, Fig. 1.

²⁵ *P.E.Q.*, 1953, Pl. XIX, i, p. 72.

to find a more reasonable explanation for this curious building and it is hard to believe that such a settlement as Hacilar had no sacred building. It only remains to point out that the house Q1-4 presents many similarities, and as it belongs to the later phase (II*b*), during which there was no shrine in the north-east corner, it is not altogether impossible that this building served as the later shrine. This possibility must certainly be considered, for in a badly destroyed niche in the west wall of room Q4 there lay a flat stone and the whole building contained many objects, including stone bowls, beads, a stamp seal and half a dozen fragments of figurines.

POTTERY AND SMALL FINDS

Although the greater part of this report is devoted to the architecture of Levels I and II, this does not mean that the finds of the 1959 season were less important than those made in the two previous years. On the contrary, Hacilar was as prolific as ever. Not less than seventy complete or restored pots were sent to the Ankara Museum and about 250 were recorded. From the burnt shrine and the courtyards we collected a corpus of early Level II pottery numbering about a hundred pots. These are extremely interesting in that in shape and decoration they are on the whole more closely related to the pottery of levels III-V, with geometric ornament in two registers predominating.²⁶ Ovals of course occur, but whereas some are decorated in the curvilinear "fantastic" style,²⁷ most bear geometric ornaments. Lentoid bottles and bowls on four feet are new additions to the repertoire. In the later Level II stratum (II*b*) a comparatively large number of stone vessels were found, as well as the first stratified stamp seals. Many more painted pots were discovered in the newly excavated quarters of the fortress, including ovoid jars with spirali-form decoration, and a large painted jar standing not less than 0.70 metres high. Traces of copper were found in both levels II*a* and in I*a* or *b*, which corroborates our theory that the limestone and lazurite beads found in both levels were made with metal tools. Figurines were again common in both levels and one complete (or nearly complete) specimen was found, unfortunately not of the best workmanship (Fig. 7). It is clad in a dress, plain on one side, decorated with circles on the other, such as can still be seen on peasant women to-day.

Far more spectacular is the emergence in Level I of a class of hollow effigies or anthropomorphic vessels in the form of a seated goddess, the largest of which were about a foot high (Pl. XV*a-s*). These were made in red-on-cream painted ware and the eyes, and sometimes the ears, brow, nose and chin were inlaid in obsidian.²⁸ Nose, ears, eyebrows and chin are carefully modelled and fully plastic arms support tiny breasts. The sagging abdomen, the knees and the steatopygous rump are nearly

²⁶ *AS. VIII*, 1958, p. 140, cf. Fig. 6, 14-17, 21, 24.

²⁷ *ibid.*, Fig. 5, "fantastic style."

²⁸ In 1958 a figurine was found in Level I with an inlaid obsidian navel.

always indicated. These effigies are far from rare, but they are nearly always extremely fragmentary. A number of painted hollow feet suggests the presence of a standing type also.

It is worth noting that not two of them are alike and considerable variations may be expected in matters of dress. Not a single example of the nude goddess (well represented among the figurines) has yet been found. The only almost complete specimen from Hacilar was found by Şefket Ağa, our rival, and is now in the collection of Bay Hüseyin Kocabaş,



FIG. 7. Baked clay figurine from Level IIb (Room N8), painted in orange-brown on yellow-cream slip.

to whom I am much indebted for permission to photograph and publish this effigy. Some pieces are wrongly restored and a few sherds of earlier date have inadvertently been stuck on to the figure (Pl. XVb, c). It probably came from Room 6, into which a fresh pit had been dug before the 1958 season and at the bottom of which we found what was probably its base. The only contemporary parallel for what may have been such an effigy was found by Seton Lloyd in Samarran pottery in Level V at Hassuna, dated by C14 to *c.* 5100 B.C. $\pm$ 200,²⁹ but attention should also be drawn to the fine clay statuette from the Cretan neolithic site of Kato Ieropetra,³⁰ which though different in the rendering of the legs, and almost certainly later in date, bears a strong resemblance to the Hacilar effigies.

²⁹ *JNES*. IV, 1945, p. 281, Fig. 1, 2, Pl. XVII, 2.

³⁰ *AJA*. 1951, p. 121, No. 1; Pl. I, A.

THE SULTANTEPE TABLETS

(continued)

VII. THE MYTH OF NERGAL AND ERESHKIGAL

By O. R. GURNEY

THE MYTH OF Nergal and Ereshkigal has long been known to Assyriologists from a Middle Babylonian tablet found among the diplomatic archives of Tell El Amarna.¹ The tablet had apparently been imported into Egypt, perhaps from Syria, together with a similar one inscribed with the myth of Adapa, as a school-text for the training of scribes. It was only in 1951 that fragments of a late Assyrian version of the tale were unearthed at Sultantepe. In 1953, after the numerous fragments had been baked and joined, the text was identified by the present writer and a preliminary account of it was given by him in a lecture delivered early in 1955.² The cuneiform text was published in 1957³ and a full edition was promised for this journal. The present article is intended to fulfil that promise. The Sultantepe tablet remains the sole authority for the late Assyrian version of the tale, not a single fragment having come to light from any other source.

The tablet is one of the largest in the collection. It has three columns on each face and, when complete, must have contained some 440 lines ; but unfortunately it is very badly damaged. About 100 lines are completely lost and of the remainder—in itself a fairly good proportion of the whole—only sixteen lines are preserved intact and these are spread throughout the poem. The problem for the editor is thus mainly one of restoration ; but in this he is much assisted by the nature of the Akkadian epic style, with its fondness for repetition. Many broken lines can be restored with complete certainty from parallel passages in the poem and one badly mutilated section can be recognized as an extract from the well-known poem “ The Descent of Ishtar to the Nether World ”.⁴ Beyond this, restoration is more or less conjectural, but the possibilities are limited by the necessity to produce a coherent narrative. Assyriologists must judge whether in the present edition the proper limits have been overstepped. The Middle Babylonian version can be used for this purpose only in a general way. The outline and main incidents of the tale are clearly the same in the two versions and, where one of these incidents is missing in the Assyrian text, we can be reasonably sure that it should be inserted in one of the lacunae ; but wherever an incident is preserved in both versions, the actual wording is usually different.

¹ Translations may be found in A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (2nd ed.) 129 ff., and *ANET*. 103 ff.

² Published in *Proceedings of the British Academy* XLI, 21 ff.

³ Gurney and Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets* I, No. 28.

⁴ Modern translations by A. Heidel, *op. cit.* 121 ff., and *ANET*. 106 ff. (with bibliography).

The tale appears to be preceded by a hymnal introduction, similar to those attached to other works of Babylonian literature, and in this case presumably addressed to Ereshkigal, though the name is missing. For this section we are dependent on a detached fragment, which has been assigned to this tablet on account of the general similarity of the writing and especially on account of the column division, for there is no other tablet in the collection having the columns divided by only two lines set wide apart in this way. The fragment contains only the extreme ends of fourteen lines and in these there is no obvious reference to the subject-matter of the poem. Some doubt must therefore remain whether the fragment has been correctly assigned.

The beginning of the story has to be supplied from the Amarna version. The gods of heaven are preparing a feast and wish to invite their sister Ereshkigal, the queen of the Underworld ; but the immutable laws of the universe have confined the *dei superi* and the *dei inferi* in their respective realms and neither can visit the other. Only messengers can pass between and accordingly Anu sends a message to Ereshkigal suggesting that she should dispatch her messenger to heaven to collect her portion and take it down to her. At this point the Assyrian narrative sets in and only the briefest summary is necessary here. Ereshkigal's messenger, Namtar, duly ascends " the stairway of heaven ", but on his entry into the heavenly palace he takes offence at the behaviour of one of the gods, Nergal, and complains to his queen. Nergal is ordered by Ea to go down to the Underworld, presumably to apologize, and after receiving from Ea careful instructions about the dangers of accepting hospitality there, he duly sets out. On arrival at the palace of Ereshkigal he attempts to carry out his instructions, but eventually succumbs to her charms and sleeps with her for an epic period of seven days and nights. Then, fearing the gods' displeasure, he asks to be released and returns to heaven, apparently posing as the bearer of a message from Ereshkigal. Ereshkigal laments his departure and sends up Namtar to beg the gods to allow Nergal to return permanently to the Underworld as her husband. The gods, however, anticipating such a development, devise a scheme for deceiving the messenger : Nergal is transformed, apparently by a magic spell, into a deformed creature and Namtar fails to recognize him. He goes back to his queen with his mission unaccomplished but is promptly told to return at once and seize the disguised god by force. This, we must suppose, he does (there is a lacuna here) and there follows a short dialogue in which Namtar instructs Nergal in the steps he must now take for re-entering the Nether World. Anyone seeking admittance there as a permanent resident has to submit to being relieved of an article of apparel or equipment by the porter at each of the seven gates. Nergal must therefore carry with him certain objects (details are not preserved), presumably in order that the porters may be satisfied without depriving him of his essential needs. This plan is carried out. Nergal re-enters Hades, goes straight up to Ereshkigal, seizes her by her hair and pulls her from her throne (this detail has been supplied in a broken line from the Amarna version). The pair then sleep together for a further

period and the poem ends with a message from Anu (?) giving permission for Nergal to remain permanently in the Underworld and, we may presume (the end is lost), to reign there henceforward as king.

The essential outlines of this story are already present in the Amarna version, but whereas the latter presents a bald, concise narrative of hardly more than a hundred lines, the Assyrian version is a literary composition enlivened by much incidental conversation and containing passages borrowed from other works ; moreover, the whole of Nergal's first journey to the Underworld and his return to heaven are found only in the later text. Yet we cannot be sure that these additions are of late origin. Most Assyrian manuscripts of such poems are in the direct line of descent from Old Babylonian originals, and the Amarna tablet may well represent an abbreviated local version, like that of the Gilgamesh Epic found at Boğazköy.

Only a few of the incidents in this tale still remain obscure. We do not understand the purpose of Ea's first instructions to Nergal (col. ii, 21-35), involving the felling of trees and the carving of three objects. We do not know why Nergal, on arrival in Hades, first resists temptation (col. iii, 54-63) but then succumbs (col. iv, 1-8). We do not know what happened in heaven to motivate Nergal's return (col. iv, 15-16). We do not understand Ereshkigal's preparations for his second reception and the allusion to "two daughters" and "Enmeshar" (col. iv, 33-49). We may hope that light may yet be thrown on these minor matters by the discovery of new parallels.

In the printing of the text and translation the usual conventions have been followed. In the translation, italics are used for all words which are uncertain, either because the meaning of the text is not understood or because the text itself is illegible or broken. In the transliteration, uncertain readings are printed in roman type, including the many restorations which are purely conjectural ; roman type has, however, not been used for restorations which are virtually certain (some subjectivity of judgment is inevitable here). Since publication of the hand-copy the tablet has been collated several times and wherever a reading has been obtained which differs from the copy, this fact is indicated by an exclamation mark.

My thanks are due to Professor W. G. Lambert for many valuable suggestions which are now incorporated in this edition. His ideas have been particularly helpful in the interpretation of col. i, 1-14, col. ii, 9-11, 26-35, and col. vi, 21-8.

TRANSLITERATION

Col. I

- 1'. [. šar-rat nišē]^{meš} ʾlud-lul⁷
 2'. [.]-mi Diš⁵ s[a-a]n-tak
 3'. [. šar-rat nišē^{meš}]-e [lu]d-lul
 4'. [.-m]i s[a-an-t]ak
 5'. [.]x e x x⁶
 6'. [. gi]-mil dum-qí
 7'. [. i]-na ^dištarāti^{meš} ka-li-šin
 8'. [. re]-me-ni-it⁷
 9'. [.] mi-e-ši
 10'. [. an]-nu-ú-na
 11'. [.]^{meš}-ú
 12'. . . .]-tu 13'. . . .]-BE 14'. . . .]-u

If the preceding lines are rightly interpreted as the beginning of the text, some sixteen lines are missing before the main tablet is reached. Nine of these can be restored with some certainty from lines 31'–37' below.

- [^dA-num pa-a-šú īpuš-ma iqabbi ana ^dKà-kà a-mat izakkar]
 [^dKà-kà a-na eršet lā tārī lu-uš-pur-ka]⁸
 [ana ^dEreš-ki-gal ki-a-am ta-qab-bi]
 [um-ma at-ti-ma ul šá e-li-i]
 [ina šatti-ki ul te-li-i ana maḥ-ri-ni]
 [u ni-nu-ma ul šá a-ra-di]
 [ina arḥi-i-ni ul nu-ur-rad ana maḥ-ri-ki]
 [^{lú}mār-šip-ri-ki lil-li-kám-ma]
 [^{giš}paššūra li-īp-ṭur qiš-ta-a-ki lim-ḥur]
 15'. [mim-mu-ú a-nam-din-áš-šú lu-šal-li-ma-kum . .] ʾka-a-ši⁷
 16'. [ú-rid ^dKà-kà ár-kat sim-me-lat]⁹ šá-ma-mi
 17'. [bāba šá ^dEreš-ki-gal ina ka-š]á-di-šu

- 18'. [^{lú}atú] p[i-ta-an-n]i¹⁰ bāba
 19'. [^dKà-kà e-ru-u]m-ma lik-r[u-bak-ka] bābu
 20'. [išten^{en} bāb]a ú-še-ri-b[a ila ^dK]à-kà
 21'. [šanú^u] bābu ú-še-ri-b[a ila] ^dKà-kà

⁵ Possibly a scribal error, since there is no known example of *ana santak*. The tablet appears to have the sign *ab*, preceded by a sign ending with a "hook"; but analogies suggest that lines 2 and 4, as well as lines 1 and 3, should end in an identical way. See commentary.

⁶ This sign, on collation, appears to have two verticals.

⁷ This sign is not written in the peculiar manner which characterises the main tablet (e.g. iv, 56').

⁸ cf. vi, 45'.

⁹ cf. v, 42' and vi, 18'.

¹⁰ cf. Descent of Ishtar i, 27.

TRANSLATION

- 1'. *I will praise* [. *the queen of mankind*]d.
 2'. [.] *continually*.
 3'. *I will praise* [. *the queen of mankind*]d.
 4'. [.] . . *continually*.
 5'. [.]
 6'. [.] a favour.
 7'. [. the . . .] *among* all the goddesses.
 8'. [.] *thou art merciful*.
 9'. [.] *forgive*.
 10'. [.] *our sins*.
 11'-14'. (Traces only.)

About seven lines missing. The story opens with the gods in heaven preparing a banquet. They wish to invite Ereshkigal, the queen of the Underworld.

- [Anu opened his mouth to speak and said to Kaka :]
 [" Kaka, *I will send you to the Land of No Return*.]
 [to Ereshkigal *you shall speak as follows* :]
 [' You are not able to come up ;]
 [during your year you do not come up to visit us ;]
 [and we are unable to go down ;]
 [during our month we do not go down to visit you.]
 [Let your messenger come hither,]
 [let him remove the dish from the table (and) receive your portion ;]
 15'. [whatever I give him let him hand over . . .] to you.'"
 16'. [Kaka descended the long stairway] of heaven.
 17'. [On] his arrival [at the gate of Ereshkigal,]

 18'. [" Porter !] O[pen] the gate [for m]e ! " (he said).
 19'. [" *Enter, Kaka,*] and may the gate [*bless you.*] "
 20'. [Through the first gate] he admitted [the god] Kaka,
 21'. [through the second] gate he admitted [the god] Kaka,

- 22'. [šalša]^{šá} bāba ú-še-ri-ba [ila] ^dKà-kà
 23'. rebú^u bābu ú-še-ri-b[a] ila ^dKà-kà
 24'. hanša^{šá} bāba ú-še-r[i-ba] ila ^dKà-kà
 25'. šešša^{šá} bāba ú-š[e-ri-b]a ila ^dKà-kà
 26'. sebú^u bābu ú-š[e-ri-b]a ila ^dKà-kà
 27'. i-ru-um-ma ana p[al]-ki-i ki-šal-li-šá
 28'. ik-mi-si i[š-ši-iq] qaq-qa-ru maḥ-ri-šá
 29'. i-šīr i-za-z[i-ma]] i-zak-kar-šá¹¹
 30'. ^dA-num abū-[ki i]š-^rpur-ra-an-ni^r [ia-a-ši]
 31'. um-ma at-t[i-m]a ul šá e-li-[i]
 32'. ina šatti(MU. AN. NA?)-[k]i ul te-li-i ana maḥ-ri-ni
 33'. u ni-nu-ma ul šá a-ra-dī
 34'. ina arḥi-^ri^r-ni ul nu-ur-rad ana maḥ-ri-ki
 35'. ^rlū^rmār-šip-ri-ki lil-li-kám-ma
 36'. ^{giš}paššūra li-ip-tur qiš-ta-a-ka lim-ḥur
 37'. mim-mu-ú a-nam-din-áš-šú lu-šal-li-ma-^rkúm x x ka-ši^r

- 38'. ^dEreš-ki-gal pa-a-šú i-pu-uš-ma iqabbi ana ^dK[à-kà] a-mat izakkar
 39'. ^rlū^rmār-šip-ri šá ^dA-nim abī-ni šá tal-li-k[a-n]a-a-ši
 40'. lu-ú šul-mu ana ^dA-nim ^dEn-lil u ^dÉ-a ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}
 41'. lu-ú šul-mu ana ^dNammu u ^dNa-áš ili elli(KÙ. GA)
 42'. lu-ú šul-mu ana mu-ti be-lit šá-ma-mi
 43'. lu-ú šul-mu ana ^dNin-[urta dan-dan-nu] ina māti
 44'. ^dKà-kà p[a-a-šú] i-pu-uš-ma iqabbi ana ^dEreš-ki-gal a-mat izakkar^{ár}
 45'. šul-mu ana ^dA-nim ^dEn-lil u ^dÉ-a ilāni^{meš} rabūti^{meš}
 46'. šul-mu ana ^d[Namm]u u ^dNa-áš <ili> elli(KÙ. GA)
 47'. šul-m[u ana mu-ti b]e-lit šá-ma-mi
 48'. šul-[mu ana] ^dNi[n-urt]a ^rdan-dan-nu^r ina māti
 49'. [^dK]à-kà *pā-šú ipu^{šus}-[ma]¹² iqabbi ana ^dEreš-ki-gal a-[mat] izakkar^{ár}
 50'. [x x] x a-na ka-a-ši lu-ú šá-lim-tum

- 51'. [^dEreš-ki-ga]l *pā-šú ipu^š¹³-ma iqabbi ana ^dNam-tar sukkallī-šú a-mat
 izakkar^{ár}
 52'. ^rdNam^r[-tar sukkalli]i lu-uš-pur-k[a ana] ^ršamêe šá ^dA-nim abī-ni^r¹⁴
 53'. ^dNam-tar e-^rli-i ár-kat^r [sim-me-lat šá-ma-mi]¹⁵
 54'. ^{giš}paššūra pu-tur [qiš-ti mu-ḥur]
 55'. mim-mu-ú Anu ^ri-na-an^r-[di-nak-kum tu-šal-la-man-ni ia-a-ši]
 56'. ^d[Nam-tar]

About sixteen lines missing to end of column.

¹¹ Probably nothing missing : cf. En. El. III, 70.

¹² Text : DÙ-šú u[š]!

¹³ Text : DÙ-šú KA-šú!

¹⁴ cf. iv, 24'.

¹⁵ cf. v, 42'.

- 22'. [through the third] gate he admitted [the god] Kaka,
 23'. through the fourth gate he admitted the god Kaka,
 24'. through the fifth gate he admitted the god Kaka,
 25'. through the sixth gate he admitted the god Kaka,
 26'. through the seventh gate he admitted the god Kaka.
 27'. He entered her spacious courtyard.
 28'. He knelt (and) k[issed] the ground before her,
 29'. (then) he straightened up, took his stand [and] said to her :
 30'. "Anu, your father, sent me, saying :
 31'. 'You are one not able to come up ;
 32'. during your year you do not come up to visit us ;
 33'. and we are unable to go down ;
 34'. during our month we do not go down to visit you.
 35'. Let your messenger come hither,
 36'. let him remove the dish from the table (and) receive your portion ;
 37'. whatever I give him let him hand over . . . to you.' "

-
- 38'. Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak and said to Kaka :
 39'. "O Messenger of Anu our father who have come to us,
 40'. Is it well with Anu, Enlil and Ea, the great gods ?
 41'. Is it well with Nammu and Nash,¹⁶ the pure god ?
 42'. Is it well with the husband of the Lady of Heaven ?
 43'. Is it well with Nin[-urta, *the mightiest*] in the land ? "
 44'. Kaka opened his mouth to speak and said to Ereshkigal :
 45'. "It is well with Anu, Enlil and Ea, the great gods ;
 46'. it is well with [Nammu] and Nash,¹⁶ the pure (god),
 47'. it is well [with the husband of] the lady of heaven ;
 48'. it is well with Nin[-urta], *the mightiest* in the land."
 49'. Kaka opened his mouth to speak and said to Ereshkigal :
 50'. "[.] I hope it is well with you."

-
- 51'. Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak and said to Namtar, her minister :
 52'. "Namtar, my [minister], I will send you [to] *the heaven of Anu, our father*.
 53'. Namtar, *ascend the long [stairway of heaven]*,
 54'. remove the dish from the table, [receive my portion,]
 55'. whatever Anu [*gives you, hand over to me.*] "
 56'. [Namtar]

About twenty-six lines missing. Namtar goes up to heaven and as he enters the assembly of the gods, they kneel before him. Nergal alone fails to do so and thus causes offence. He is ordered to follow Namtar down to the Underworld and apologize.

¹⁶ Possibly a debased form of the name Nanshe.

Col. II

About ten lines missing.

- [^dĒ-a pā-šú īpuš-ma iqabbi ana ^dNergal a-mat izakkar]¹⁷
 1'. [.] x [.]
 2'. [e-nu-ma i]k!-šu-du i[na]
 3'. [x x x]x ú-ru-uh x¹⁸ [x x x]
 4'. [ilānimeš ina pāni]-šú iš-te-niš k[an-su]¹⁹
 5'. [ilānimeš rabûti^{me}š be-el ši-ma-a-[ti]
 6'. [u šu-u] ú-kal-la par-ši ú-kal-la par-ši [ilānimeš]
 7'. [ilāni]^{meš} a-ši-bu-ut qí-rib ^dIr[-kal-la]
 8'. [in]a pa-ni-šú am-me-ni la ta-k[am-mis]
 9'. [x] x inē^{II}.meš-ia aš-ša-nap-rak-kám-ma
 10'. [te-e]r-ra-a-ta a-na la mu-dí-e-ma
 11'. Either [x x]x-ta²⁰ qaq-qa-{ru}-ram-ma i-na! ri- x[x]x
 or [x x]x-ta²⁰ qaq-qa-{ru}-ram-ma i-na!-tal e[-na-k]a²¹
 12'-17'. (Traces only.)
 [^dNergal pa-a-šú īpuš-ma iqabbi ana ^dĒ-a a-mat izakkar]
 18'. [. lu-]ut-bi
 19'. [.]x taq-bi
 20'. [x x]-ši ma la an/ti ana šinī-šú iš-šip-šú²²
 21'. [^dĒ-a an-ni-tú ina še-me-šú zik-ra it-ta-mi ana libbi-šú
 22'. [lu-uš-t]e-pi-iš ma 'x' qa ra a ga²³ 'ti' šá-pa-a-r[a]²⁴
-
- 23'. ^dĒ-a pa-a-šú i-pu-uš-ma iqabbi ana ^dNergal a-mat izakkar^{ar}
 24'. mār ḥar-ra-ni te-ri-šú tal-lak na-aš-p[ār-ta]-ka GÍR(?) ŠUR(?) qātē^{II}-ka
- 25'. e-rid a-na giškišti [] 'šá giš⁷mēsi
 26'. i-kis gišmēsa giš⁷ha⁷-š[ur-ra u] gišsu-pa-a-lu
 27'. ḥu-uš-šib giš⁷x [x giš⁷x x u giš⁷]si-ib-bir-ri
 28'. [ú-rid a-na giškišti] 'šá gišmēsi!⁷
 29'. [ik-kis gišmēsa giš⁷ha-šur-ra u giš⁷s]u-pa-a-lu!
 30'. 'ú!-ha!⁷-a[š⁷-šib giš⁷x x giš⁷x x u] gišsi-ib-bir-ra
 31'. 'ú-šal-lam⁷ ma x [.]-nim u ^dNin-giš-zi-da
-
- 32'. mi-iḥ-rat na⁴uq[ni x x]x-šú ú-taq-qí
 33'. mi-iḥ-rat ḥu[rāši] x [x x x -šú] ú-taq-qí
 34'. mi-iḥ-rat na⁴uqní [gišsi-ib-bir-ra-šú] ú-taq-qí
 35'. ep-še-ti 'x -la²⁵-ti⁷ giš⁷k[ussû x x]al-la š[á x]
-
- 36'. u šá-a-šú is-si-ma i-šak-ka-an-áš-šú ṭe-e-ma
 37'. mār ḥar-ra-ni [te]-ri-šú x [x] x [x]
 38'. mim-mu-ú tērēti(UR₅.úš)^{meš} 'ú'-[. . . .] 'a ina lib šat⁷[. . . .]

¹⁷ That the speaker is Ea is indicated by ll. 21' ff. ¹⁸ Traces like BE (collated).¹⁹ cf. iii, 26'.²⁰ Before ta, traces of a broken vertical only.²¹ Reading suggested by W. G. Lambert; cf. CT. XV, 39, ii, 5 (myth of Zû).²² Or eš-sep-šú.²³ Possibly zi (i.e. napištiⁱⁱ?).²⁴ Possibly so, according to collation. At the beginning of the line there is a little more space than appears in the copy.²⁵ According to collation, not ta, possibly gur.

Col. II

- [*Ea* opened his mouth to speak and said to Nergal :]
 1'. ["] . [.]
 2'. [*When*] he arrived at [.]
 3'. [.] a road of [.]
 4'. [*the gods*], all together, [knelt *before*] him,
 5'. [(*even*) *the great gods*], the lord(s) of destinies ;
 6'. [for he] carried the authority, the authority of [the gods],
 7'. [the god]s who dwell in Irkalla.
 8'. Why do you not [kneel] before him?
 9'. I keep *rolling* my eyes at you.²⁶
 10'. (But) you [turn yourself] into an ignorant person.²⁷
 11'. Either You [.] the ground with"
 or You [.] ; your [eyes] stare at the ground."
 12'-17'. (Traces only.)
 [*Nergal* opened his mouth to speak and said to *Ea* :]
 18'. ["] I will arise
 19'. [.] you said
 20'. [.] he/I will twine it double."
 21'. When *Ea* heard this, he said to himself :
 22'. "[*I will*] *bring it about that* *send/govern*"
-
- 23'. *Ea* opened his mouth to speak and said to Nergal :
 24'. " Traveller, do you want to go on your errand *with a sword* in your hand ?
 25'. Go down to the forest . . .²⁸ of *mēsu*-trees,
 26'. cut down a *mēsu*-tree, a *ḥašurru*-tree(?) [and] a *supālu*-tree,
 27'. *carve a* , [*a* and] a staff."
 28'. [He went down to the forest . . .] of *mēsu*-trees,
 29'. [cut down a *mēsu*-tree, a *ḥašurru*-tree(?) and] a *supālu*-tree,
 30'. *carved a* [. . . . , a and] a staff,
 31'. *to hand over* . . [. to . . .] . . and Ningishzida.
-
- 32'. He painted his [.] so that it was like lapis lazuli ;
 33'. He painted [his] so that it was like gold ;
 34'. he painted [his staff] so that it was like lapis lazuli.
 35'. works *a throne*
-
- 36'. And he (*Ea*) called out to give him instructions :
 37'. " Traveller, do you want to ?
 38'. Whatever instructions I [*offer you,*] *lay them to heart*.

²⁶ Perhaps as a signal, equivalent to winking.²⁷ i.e. you pretend not to notice.²⁸ Probably nothing missing.

- 39'. *ul-tú ul-la-nu-um-ma* ^{giš}*kussá* ^ṛ*na-šu¹-nik-ka*
 40'. *e ta-mir-ma e tu-šib ina muḥ-ḫi*
 41'. ^{lú}*nuḫatimmu aklī^{hā} na-ši-[ka e ta-m]ir-ma aklī^{HI. <A>}-šú ul ṛe-kul¹*
 42'. ^{lú}*ṭābīḫu šīra na-ši-[ka e ta-mi]r-ma šīr-šú ul ṛ^{KI. MIN¹}*
 43'. ^{lú}*sīrāšú ṛšikarī^{meš} na-ši-ka e ta-mir-ma šikarī^{meš} ul¹ [iš]-ti*
 44'. *me-si-it šēpē^{II} na-ši-ka e ta-mir-ma [šēpē]^{II}-ka e tam-si*
 45'. ^ṛ*ši¹-i a-na nar-ma-ki i-ru-um-ma²⁹*
 46'. [*lu*]-ub-bu-ši [x]-^ṛ*mu-šú¹ il-la-bi-iš*
 47'. ^ṛ*x¹ i³⁰ zu-mur¹-šá uš-ta-bar-rak-ka*
 48'. *at-ta [šá zi]-kar u sin-niš ṛe ta-¹x [x x]x -ka³¹*

49'. ^d*Nergal¹ [.*

About twelve lines missing.

From near the end of col. II the lines can be restored from the parallel passage in the "Descent of Ishtar" (CT. XVI, 45, 4 ff.) :—

[^d*Nergal a-na eršet lā tāri pa-ni-šú iš-kun*]
 [*a-na bīt ek-le-ti šu-bat ṛIr-kal-la*]
 [*a-na bīti ša e-ri-bu-šu la a-ṣu-u*]

Col. III

1. [*a-na ḫar-ra-ni ša a-lak-ta*]-šá la ta-a-a-rat
 2. [*a-na bīti ša a-ši-bu-šu z*]u-mu-u nu-ra
 3. [*a-šar epru bu-bu-us-s*]i-na akal^{hā}[-ši-n]a ti-it-ti
 4. [*lab-šu-ma kīma iṣ-ṣ*]u-ru ṣu-bat a-kaḫ-ḫu
 5. [*nu-u-ra ul im-ma-ru ina*] e-ṭu-ti ṛáš-ba¹
 6. [.]x ^ṛ*du-ma-ma¹*
 7. [. i-dam-mu-mu] ki-ma [su]-um-me
 8. [.]x li a
 9. [^{lú}*atú pā-šu ipuṣ-ma iqabbi*] ana ^d*Nergal a-mat iza[kkar^{ár}]*
 10. [*aš-šum mār ḫar-ra-ni man-za-az*] bābi ṭe-me ^ṛ*lu-tir³²*
 11. [*e-ru-um-ma lúatú ana ṛEreš-ki-ga*]l a-mat i[*zakkar^{ár}*]
 12. [*be-el-ti mār ḫar-ra-ni iš-te-e*]n il-li-[*ka-na-a-ši*]
 13. [. ú-ad-da]-šú man-[*nu*]³³
 14. [.]x ši x[

A few lines missing.

[^d*Ereš-ki-gal pā-šú ipuṣ-ma iqabbi ana ṛNam-tar a-mat izakkar*]
 [.]
 15'. [.]x šá ni [.]

²⁹ cf. iv, 5'.

³⁰ Possibly *tur*.

³¹ Perhaps *e ta-á[š-ši ēn]ē^{II}-ka*, but this would not agree with the corresponding line iii, 62'.

³² cf. l. 19'.

³³ cf. l. 17' and Gilg. xii, 15 (*ú-a-ad-[du-ka]*).

- 49'. *Nergal* [.....]

[Nergal set his face towards the Land of No Return,
[to the house of darkness, the dwelling of Irkalla,
[to the house from which none comes out who has entered it,

1. [to the road from which] there is no way back,
2. [to the house in which the dwellers] are bereft of light,
3. [where dust is] their [sustenance] and clay their food,
4. [where they are clad like] birds in garments of wings,
5. [where they see no light] and dwell in darkness,
6. [*where they and are full of*] *groaning*,
7. [. they moan] like doves.
8. [.]. . . .
9. [The porter opened his mouth to speak] and said to Nergal :
10. “ Let me take back a report [*about a traveller standing at*] the gate.”
11. [The porter *entered and*] spoke [to Ereshkigal] :
12. [*“ My lady, a certain traveller*] has come [to us.]
13. [.] Who [*will identify*] him ? ”
14. [.]. . . . [.]

15'. [Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak and said to Namtar :]
[“.....”]
[.....].[.....]

- 16'. [.]-ú *šu-bur-šú* ³⁴
 17'. [. lu-] *ud-du-šu-ú-ma*
 18'. [. lu-mur-š] *u ina ka-mi-i bābi*
 19'. [te-me] *ṛa x xṛ lu-tir ana be-li-ia*
 20'. ^d*Nam-tar il-lik-ma* [ina š] *i-li* ^{giš}*dalti ip-pa-la-šú* ^d*Èr-ra*
 21'. *šá* ^d*Nam-tar* [*kī*] *ma ni-ṛkis* ^{giš}*bīni* *'ir-qu pa-nu-uš* ³⁵
 22'. *kīma šab-ti ku-[ni-n]i iṣ-[l]i-ma šap-ta-šú*
 23'. ^d*Nam-tar il-lik-ma ana be-[el-ti-š]ú a-mat izakkar* ^{ár}
 24'. *be-el-ti ul-t[ú ul-la-nu-um-ma ana] abī-ki taš-pu-ri-ni-ma*
 25'. *ana ki-sal-li* [^d*A-nim ina*] *e-re-bi-i[a]* ³⁶
 26'. *kan-su áš-r[u ilāni* ^{meš} *kalīšunu]* ³⁶
 27'. *kan-su [. ilāni* ^{meš} *šá māti]* ³⁶

Five lines missing.

- 33'. ^d[*Ereš-ki-gal pā-šu ipuṣ-ma iqabbi*]
 34'. *ana* ^d[*Nam-tar sukkalli-šú a-mat izakkar* ^{ár}]
 35'. ^d[*Nam-tar*]
 36'. *x[.]*
 37'. *ul su!-[.]*
 38'. *u a-na-ku [.]*
 39'. *akal* ^{há} ^d*A-n[un-na-ki li-kul mē* ^{meš} ^d*A-nun-na-ki liš-ti]* ³⁷

- 40'. *a-ṛlik* ^{ma} *ilu an!-n[u-u šu-rib ana maḥ-ri-ia]*
 41'. [*I*]-*en bāba šá* ^d*N[e-du₈ ú-še-ri-ba* ^d*Nergal]* ³⁸
 42'. [*II-a bāb*] *a šá* ^d*K[i-šár* KI. MIN]
 43'. [*III-šá bāba šá* ^d*En-da-šurim-ma* KI. MIN]
 44'. [*IV-a bāba šá* ^d*En-[uru-ul-la* KI. MIN]
 45'. [*V-šá bāba*] *šá* ^d*En-ṛdu₁₃-[kū-ga* KI. MIN]
 46'. [*VI-šá*] *bāba šá* ^d*En-du₁₃-[šuba* KI. MIN]
 47'. [*VII-a bāba šá* ^d*En-nu-g[i₄-gi₄* KI. MIN]
 48'. *i-ru-um-ma ana pal-ki-i* [*ki-sal-li-šá*]
 49'. *ik-mi-is iṣ-šiq qaq-qa-r[a maḥ-ri-šá]*
 50'. ^d*A-num abū-ki uš-ṛx* ^{an} <sup>[ni ³⁹ . . .]
 51'. *tī-šab* ^{šá-ab} *ina* ^{giš}*kussī* [*.*]
 52'. *dī-ni dī-ni x x* [*. šá ilāni rabūti]* ⁴⁰
 53'. *ilāni* ^{meš} *rabūti* ^{meš} *a-ši-[bu-ut qī-rib* ^d*Ir-kal-la]*
 54'. *ul-tú ul-la-nu-u[m-ma* ^{giš}*kussá na-šu-niš-šu]* ⁴¹
 55'. *e ta-mir-ma u[l ú-šib ina muḥ-ḥi]* ⁴²
 56'. ^{lū}*nuḥatimmu aklī* ^{há} *na-šu-niš-[šu e ta-mir]-ṛma aklī* ^{há} *ul e-kul* ⁴²
 57'. [^{lū}*tāb*] *iḥu šīra na-[šu-niš-šu e] ta-mir-ma šīr-šú* KI. MIN</sup>

³⁴ Less probably *šu-pur-šú* "his claw (nail)". ³⁵ cf. "Descent of Ishtar", obv. 29-30.

³⁶ cf. v, 31'-33'.

³⁷ cf. iv, 45'.

³⁸ For the names of the seven porters of the Underworld see K. Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 136, s.v. *nidugallu*, and *KAR.* 230, 13. For restoration cf. i, 20' ff.

³⁹ Not *iš-pur-an-ni* (collated); cf. v, 17' and 45'.

⁴⁰ cf. v, 7.

⁴¹ cf. ii, 39 ff.

⁴² The whole of the right-hand fragment here has been copied one line too high.

- 16'. [.] seize him ! ”
 17'. [“ *I will*] identify him,⁴³
 18'. [. *let me look at*] him at the outer gate,
 19'. (and) I will bring back [*a report*] to my lord.”⁴⁴
 20'. Namtar went and espied Erra⁴⁵ [*in the*] shadow⁴⁶ of the door.
 21'. Namtar's face turned pale like a cut-down tamarisk,
 22'. his lips turned black like a bruised *kuninu*-reed.
 23'. Namtar went and spoke to his [lady] :
 24'. “ My lady, *after* you sent me [*to*] your father,
 25'. on my entering the courtyard [of Anu],
 26'. [*all the gods*] were kneeling humbly [.]
 27'. [*the gods of the land*] were kneeling [.]

Five lines missing.

-
- 33'. [*Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak,*]
 34'. [*and said*] to [*Namtar her minister :*]
 35'. [“ *Namtar,*]
 36'. [.]
 37'. not. [.]
 38'. and I [.]
 39'. Bread of the An[unnaki let him eat, water of the Anunnaki let him
 drink.]
 40'. Go and [*admit*] this god [*to our presence.* ”]
 41'. Through the first gate, that of N[edu, he admitted Nergal,]
 42'. through [the second gate], that of K[ishar, he admitted Nergal,]
 43'. through [the third gate, that of En-da-shurimma, he admitted Nergal,]
 44'. through [the fourth gate, that of] En-[uru-ulla, he admitted Nergal]
 45'. through [the fifth gate], that of En-du-[kuga, he admitted Nergal,]
 46'. through [the sixth] gate, that of En-du-[šuba, he admitted Nergal,]
 47'. through [the seventh] gate, that of En-nu-gigi, [he admitted Nergal.]
 48'. He (Nergal) entered into [her] wide [courtyard],
 49'. knelt and kissed the ground [before her,] (saying) :
 50'. “ Anu, your father, sent me [. ”]
 51'. “ Sit down on a throne [.] ”⁴⁷
 52'. execute the judgments . . . [. of the great gods,]
 53'. the great gods who dwell [in Irkalla.] ”
 54'. As soon as [they brought a throne for him,]
 55'. *he did not* go and [sit on it.]
 56'. The cooks brought bread [for him ; *he did not* go] and eat the bread.
 57'. The butcher br[ought] meat [for him ; *he did not*] go and eat his meat.

⁴³ If *šu-bur-šú* in l. 16 is correctly interpreted, the change of speaker (here clearly Namtar) is not indicated.

⁴⁴ Apparently a scribal error for “ my lady ”.

⁴⁵ Another name for Nergal.

⁴⁶ Or : [at the] side of.

⁴⁷ This is more likely to be a reply by Ereshkigal than part of the message from Anu, since Ea has instructed Nergal to avoid sitting on a throne.

- 58'. [¹ú-sīrāšú šikara n]a-[šú-niš-š]u e ta-mir-ma šikar-šú ul [iš]-ti
 59'. [me-si-it šēpē^{II} na-šu]-[niš-šú] e ta-mir-ma šē[pē^{II}-šú ul im-s]i
 60'. [ši-i a-na bīt nar-m]a-ki i[-ru-um-ma]
 61'. [lu-bu-ši x -mu-š]ú il-ta-ab-bi-iš
 62'. [x x zu-mur-šá] uš-ta-bar-ra-ma
 63'. [šú-ú šá zi-kar u si]n-niš x[x x]x lib-bi-šú

About ten lines missing.

Col. IV

- 1'. d[.]
 2'. a- x[.]
 3'. dA-n[un-na-ki]

 4'. dNergal an-n[i-tú ina še-me-šú]
 5'. ši-i! ana bīt n[ar-ma-ki i-ru-um-ma]
 6'. lu-bu-ši x-[mu-šú il-ta-ab-bi-iš]
 7'. x x [zu-mur-šá uš-ta-bar-ra-ma]
 8'. šú-ú šá z[i-kar u sin-niš lib-bi-šú]
 9'. in-na-ad!-ru-ma [aḫḫi^{meš} ki-lal-la-an]⁴⁸
 10'. a-na gīšma-a-a-li ši[t-mu-riš i-ter-bu-ma]
 11'. I-en ūma II-a ūma^{ma} šal-lu-u[-ma šar-rat dEreš-ki-gal u dÈr-ra]⁴⁹
 12'. [III-šá] ūma^{ma} IV-a ūma^{ma} [KI. MIN]
 13'. [V-šá ūma^{ma}] VI-šá ūma^{ma} [KI. MIN]
 14'. [VII-a] ūma^{ma} [i-na ka-ša-di-i]
 15'. dNergal ina lā ʾbaši-iʾ [.]
 16'. ar-ki-šú it-ʾba-laʾ x x[.]
 17'. muš-ʾri-inʾ-ni-ma a-ḫa-[ti]
 18'. [e t]u-uš-tar-i-bi ʾi-luʾ⁵⁰ [.]
 19'. lul-lik-ma ana eršet lā tāri [lu-tur]
 20'. ʾšá!ʾ-a-šá ʾiṣ-li-ma šIDʾ [.]

 21'. [dNergal i-š]e-ra i[l-lik]
 22'. [ana x x x]x ¹at[ī a-mat izakkar]
 23'. [dEreš-ki-gal be]-lit-ka [iš-pur-an-ni]
 24'. um-m[a ana šamêe] šá dA-n[im abī-ni lu-uš-pur-ka]⁵¹
 25'. la-am-taš-ʾširʾ šip-ru x[.]
 26'. e-la-a dNergal [ár-kat sim-me-lat šá-ma-mi]⁵²
 27'. ana bāb dA-nim dEn-[lil u dĒ-a ina ka-ša-di]
 28'. dA-num dEn-lil u d[Ē-a i-mu-ru-šu-ma]
 29'. ʾmār⁵³ dIš-tarʾ [e-la-a-na-a-ši]

⁴⁸ cf. vi, 35. Alternatively aḫa-meš ki-lal-la-an.

⁴⁹ cf. vi, 37.

⁵⁰ Or perhaps I.DIB (= askuppātu).

⁵¹ cf. i, 52'.

⁵² cf. v, 42' ff.

⁵³ The copy shows a head of a vertical which is in fact only a crack ; hardly room for DUMU.SAL.

- 58'. [The brewer brought beer for him ;] *he did not* go and drink his beer.
 59'. [They brou]ght him [water for his feet] ; *he did not* go and [wash his] feet.
 60'. [She (Ereshkigal) entered the bath-r]oom,
 61'. [and] put on [her garment,]
 62'. She *exposed* [her *body*]
 63'. [but he *did not lift*] his heart [to her in the manner of man and] woman.

About ten lines missing.

Col. IV

- 1'. [.]
 2'. [.]
 3'. *The An[unnaki*]
-
- 4'. Nergal, [on hearing] this, [.]
 5'. She (then) [entered] the [bath]-room,
 6'. [put on her garment,
 7'. [*exposed* her *body*]
 8'. and he [*lifted his heart to her*] in the manner of [man and woman].
 9'. [The brother and sister] embraced,⁵⁴
 10'. pas[sionately they entered] into the bedchamber,
 11'. one day, a second day, they lay, [*the queen Ereshkigal and Erra,*]
 12'. [a third] day, a fourth day [they lay, *the queen Ereshkigal and Erra,*]
 13'. [a fifth day,] a sixth day, [they lay, *the queen Ereshkigal and Erra,*]
 14'. [but when the seventh] day [arrived,]
 15'. since Nergal *was missing*, [.]
 16'. behind him [.] *carried off* [.]
 17'. "Let me go, [*my*] *sister*, [.]
 18'. [*do not*] cause alarm . . .[.]
 19'. I will go and [*will then come back*] to the Land of No Return."
 20'. For her part, [*her*] *turned black* [.]
-
- 21'. [*Nergal strai*gh]tway w[ent]
 22'. [to]. the porter [*he said* :]
 23'. ["Ereshkigal,] your mistress, [*sent me, saying* :]
 24'. [*I will send you to the heaven*] of Anu, [*our father.*']
 25'. *Let me be released ! A message* [.]"
 26'. Nergal ascended [the long stairway of heaven,]
 27'. [on his arrival] at the gate of Anu, Enlil [and Ea,]
 28'. Anu, Enlil and [Ea saw him (and said)] :
 29'. "The son of Ishtar [*has come up to us.*]

⁵⁴ Or : [the pair] embraced [each other].

- 30'. $\text{ṛiṣ-te}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{i!-}[\text{šú}]\text{-ma}^{55}$ x[.]
 31'. $\text{ḏĒ-a}^{\text{ḏ}}\text{AB-šú}^{\text{ḏ}}\text{mé}^{\text{meš}}\text{k}[\text{uḫ-pi li-is-luḫ-šu-ma qu-bu-ḫu}]^{56}$
 32'. $\text{ṣu-un-dur pu}^{\text{ṣ}}\text{-[us-sul li-šib pu-ḫur kál ilāni}^{\text{meš}}\text{]}^{57}$

- 33'. $\text{ḏEreš-ki-gal} [.]$
 34'. $\text{ṛana bīt nar-ma-ki}^{\text{ṛ}} [. \text{i-ru-um-ma}]$
 35'. $\text{ṛx}^{58}\text{ana}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{giš}^{\text{za}}/\text{ḫa} [.]$
 36'. $\text{zumar!-šú} \text{x} [.]$
 37'. $\text{i-li-} [.]$
 38'. $\text{il-si} [.]$
 39'. $\text{giš}^{\text{kus}}[\text{sú i-ši-ma}]$

- 39a'. $\text{mé}^{\text{meš}} [\text{x x su-lu-uḫ bīta}]^{59}$
 40'. $\text{mé}^{\text{meš}} [\text{x x s}[\text{u-lu-uḫ}]^{\text{ṛ}}\text{bīta}^{\text{ṛ}}]$
 41'. $\text{m}[\text{ē}^{\text{meš}} \text{x}]^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-li su-l}[\text{u-uḫ}]^{\text{ṛ}}\text{bīta}$
 42'. $[\text{x x t}]\text{i II mārāt}^{\text{meš}}\text{ḏ}[\text{x}]^{\text{ṛ}}\text{x ME}^{\text{ṛ}}^{60}\text{u ḏEn-me-šár}$
 43'. $[\text{mē}^{\text{meš}}] \text{x -pi-ti s}[\text{u-l}] \text{u-uḫ-šú-nu-ti}$
 44'. $[\text{x x}]^{61}\text{ḏA-nim}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{ab-ī-ni}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{šá il-li-ka-na-a-ši}^{62}$
 45'. $[\text{akli}^{\text{ḫá-ni}}\text{l}] \text{i!-ku}[\text{l! mé}]^{\text{meš-ni}}\text{liš-ti}$

- 46'. $[\text{ḏNam-tar pa-a-šú}] \text{i-pu-uš-ma i-qab-bi}$
 47'. $[\text{a-na ḏEreš-ki-gal be}] \text{-el-ti-šú a-mat izakkar}^{\text{ár}}$
 48'. $[\text{x x ḏA-nim ab}] \text{i-ni šá il-li-ka-na-ši}$
 49'. $[\text{x x x x x -n}] \text{a-šú e-tu-li}$

A few lines missing.

- 50'. $[\text{x x x x x}]^{\text{ṛ}}\text{šá x}^{\text{ṛ}} [\text{x x x x x}] \text{x}$
 51'. $[\text{x x x x}] \text{x x -tu} [\text{x x}]^{\text{ṛ}}\text{zu}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-nu-un}$
 52'. $\text{ṛeli du-úr ap}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-pi-šá il-la-}[\text{ka}] \text{di-ma-šá}$
 53'. $\text{ḏĒr-ra ḫa-me-ru la-li-e-a}$
 54'. $\text{ul áš-ba-a la-la-šú it-}^{\text{ta}}\text{tal-}^*\text{kan-ni}^{63}$
 55'. $\text{ḏĒr-ra ḫa-me-ru la-}^*\text{li-e-a}^{64}$
 56'. $\text{ul áš-ba-a la-la-šú it-}^{\text{ta}}\text{tal-}^*\text{kan-ni}^{63}$
 57'. $\text{ḏNam-tar pa-a-šú iḫuṣ}^{\text{(KA!)}}\text{-ma}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{iḡabbi}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{ana ḏEreš-ki-gal a-mat izakkar}^{\text{ár}}$
 58'. $[\text{x x}] \text{x šu x x} [\text{x}] \text{x ila šá-a-šá lu ṣab-tak-ma}$
 59'. $[\text{x x x x x x x}] \text{liš-š}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{i-qa-ak-ki ka-a-ši}$

⁵⁵ According to collation, the third sign is clearly so, and there seems to be no alternative to this reading.

⁵⁶ cf. v, 40'.

⁵⁷ cf. v, 38' and 41'.

⁵⁸ Probably *ni* or *za* rather than *a* (collated).

⁵⁹ The fragment 51/134 + 161A has again been copied one line too high. The line numbering of the copy has been followed.

⁶⁰ *Lamaštu* (DİM. ME) ?

⁶¹ Perhaps [SUKKAL] or [mār šip-ri].

⁶² cf. 48' and v, 53'.

⁶³ Or *it-ta-tal-^{*}kan-ni*. Text: *it-ta-ri-i-ni*; emendation suggested by Lambert.

⁶⁴ Text: *la-e-li-a*.

- 30'. [.] *will seek* [him]
 31'. [*Let*] Ea, his *father*, [*sprinkle him with*] spring water, [*let him sit, bald,*]
 32'. cross-eyed (and) lame, [. . . . in the assembly of all the gods.] ”
-

- 33'. Ereshkigal [.]
 34'. to the bath-room [. *she went,*]
 35'.[.]
 36'. her body [.]
 37'. . . .[.]
 38'. She called out [.]
 39'. [“ *Bring* a chair [.]
-

- 39a'. [*Sprinkle the house with*] water [of]
 40'. S[prinkle] the house with water [of]
 41'. Spr[inkle] the house with water of [.]
 42'. [. . . .] the two daughters of and Enmeshar,⁶⁵
 43'. sprinkle them [with water] of
 44'. [As for the *messenger* of Anu, our father, who came to us,
 45'. let him eat [our bread], let him drink our [water].”
-

- 46'. [*Namtar*] opened [his mouth] to speak,
 47'. and said [to Ereshkigal,] his lady :
 48'. [“ As for the *messenger* of Anu,] our father, who came to us,
 49'. [.]. . . . to lie.
-

A few lines missing.

- 50'. [.]. . .[.]
 51'. [.].[. . . .].
 52'. Her tears ran down her cheeks.
 53'. “ O Erra, my voluptuous spouse !
 54'. I was not sated with his charms ; he has *deserted* me.
 55'. O Erra, my voluptuous spouse !
 56'. I was not sated with his charms ; he has *deserted* me.”
 57'. Namtar opened his mouth to speak and said to Ereshkigal :
 58'. “ Let me seize that god !
 59'. [. let him] kiss you.”

⁶⁵ i.e. (presumably) Enmesharra, the Underworld deity.

Col. V

- [Ereshkigal opened her mouth to speak]
 [and said to Namtar her minister :
 [" Go, Namtar]]
- 1'. *set your face* [towards the gate of] Anu, Enlil and Ea,
 2'. [and say :] " Since I was a young girl,
 3'. I never knew the play of maidens,
 4'. I never knew the romping of children.
 5'. [That god, whom] you sent here, has had intercourse with me, let him
 lie with me.
 6'. Dispatch [that god] to me, that he may be my husband, that he may
 spend the night with me.
 7'. I am sexually defiled, *I am not pure*, I cannot execute the judgments of
 the great gods,
 8'. the great gods who dwell in Irkalla.
 9'. If you do not send that god,
 10'. according to the [*ordinances of Irkalla*] and the great Underworld,
 11'. I will send up the dead to eat the living,
 12'. I will make the dead more numerous than the living.' "
 13'. Namtar ascended the long stairway of heaven.
 14'. On his arrival at the gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea,
 15'. Anu, Enlil and Ea saw him and (said) :
 16'. " What have you come for, Namtar ? "
 17'. " Your [daughter] sent me " (said he),
 18'. " saying : ' Since I was a young girl,
 19'. I never knew the play of maidens,
 20'. I never knew the romping of children.
 21'. That god, whom you sent here, has had intercourse with me, let him
 lie with me.
 22'. Dispatch that god to me, that he may be my husband, that he [may
 spend the night with me.]
 23'. I am sexually defiled, *I am not pure*, I cannot execute the judgments
 [of the great gods],
 24'. the great gods who dwell in the midst of Irkalla.
 25'. If you do not send that god,
 26'. I will send up [the dead to eat] the living,
 27'. I will make the dead more numerous than the living.' "
 28'. Ea opened his mouth [to speak] and said [to Namtar] :
 29'. " Namtar, [enter] the courtyard [of Anu],
 30'. [.] "

- 31'. $\text{ṛana}^{\text{ṛ}} [\text{ki-sal-li } ^{\text{d}}\text{A-ni}]^{\text{m}} \text{ṛina e-re-bi-šú}^{\text{ṛ72}}$
 32'. $\text{kan-}[\text{su } ^{\text{d}}\text{š-ru} \dots \dots \text{ilāni}^{\text{meš}}]^{\text{s}} \text{kalī-šunu}^{\text{72}}$
 33'. $\text{k[an-su} \dots \dots \text{ilāni}]^{\text{meš}} \text{šá māti}$
 34'. $\text{I-e[n i-ši-ram-ma ul]} \text{e-mur ila šá-a-šú}^{\text{73}}$
 35'. $[\text{II-a II}] \text{I-šá } \text{ṛi-ši-ram!}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-ma ul } \text{e-mur ila šá-a-šú}$
 36'. $^{\text{d}}\text{N[am-t]ar il-lik-ma ana be-el-ti-šú a-mat izakkar}^{\text{dr}}$
 37'. $\text{be-el-ti [a-na šamê}^{\text{e}} \text{šá]} ^{\text{d}}\text{A-nim abī-ki šá taš-pu-ri-ni}^{\text{74}}$
 38'. $\text{be-el-ti [ilu I-en qu]-bu-ḫu ṣu-un-dur pu-us-sul x[x] a-šib pu-ḫur kâl}$
 $\text{ilāni}^{\text{meš}}\text{-ma}$
 39'. $\text{a-lik ila šá-a-šú ṣab-ta-šum-ma l[i-q]a-a i[a-a-š]i}$
 40'. $^{\text{d}}\text{É-a AB-šú mē}^{\text{meš}} \text{kup-pi } \text{ṛsu}^{\text{75}}\text{-[luḫ-šu]-ma}$
 41'. $\text{qu-bu-ḫu ṣu-un-dur pu-us-sul x[x a-šib] pu-ḫur kâl i[lāni}^{\text{meš}}]$

 42'. $\text{i-la-a } ^{\text{d}}\text{Nam-tar ár-kat } ^{\text{sisim-me-lat}} \text{šá-ma-[mi]}$
 43'. $\text{ana bāb } ^{\text{d}}\text{A-nim } ^{\text{d}}\text{En-líl u } ^{\text{d}}\text{É-a ina ka-[šá-dí]}$
 44'. $^{\text{d}}\text{A-num } ^{\text{d}}\text{En-líl u } ^{\text{d}}\text{É-a e-mu-ru-}^{\text{*}}\text{šú}^{\text{76}}\text{-[ma]}$
 45'. $\text{mi-na-a tal-lak } ^{\text{d}}\text{Nam-tar mārāt-ku-nu iš-pur-an-[ni]}$
 46'. $\text{um-ma ila šá-a-šú ṣab-ta-šum-ma li-qa-a ia-š[i]}$
 47'. $^{\text{d}}\text{Nam-tar ana ki-sal-li } ^{\text{d}}\text{A-nim e-ru-u[b-ma]}$
 48'. $\text{t[ar-g]i-ge-ti-ka bu-'}\text{-i-šú-ma l[i-qa-a-šú]}$
 49'. $[\text{it-t}]i \text{I-en i-ši-ram-ma ul! e!-mur!}^{\text{77}} [\text{ila šá-a-šú}]$
 50'. $[\text{II-a II}] \text{I-šá i-ši-ram-ma} \quad [\text{KI. MIN}]$

 51'. $[\text{IV-a V-šá}] \text{i-ši-ram-ma} \quad [\text{KI. MIN}]$
 52'. $[\text{d x}] ^{\text{*}}\text{pā-šú } \text{ṛpuš}^{\text{78}}\text{-ma iqabbi ana } ^{\text{d}}\text{É-a x[. . .]}$
 53'. $[\text{x } ^{\text{d}}\text{Na}]^{\text{m}}\text{-tar mār šip-ru šá il-li-k[a-na-ši]}^{\text{79}}$
 54'. $[\text{mē}^{\text{meš}}\text{-ni li-i}]^{\text{š-ṛ}}\text{ti li-ir-muk lip-pa}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-[šiš zu-mur-šú]}$

About six lines missing to end of column.

Col. VI

1. $\text{ṛa-a}^{\text{ṛ}} \text{iḫ-mu-uš } \text{ṛuk}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-[.]}$
 2. $^{\text{d}}\text{Ēr-ra a-šá-al-la-ka} \quad [\text{.}] \text{elī-šú} \quad [\text{.}]$
 3. $\text{a-ṛdàk}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-ka a-ṛna-}^{\text{ṛ}} \text{x[.]}$
 4. $^{\text{d}}\text{Nam-tar } \text{ṛšipir}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-ka ana x x [.]}$
 5. $^{\text{d}}\text{Er-ra x [x] x x ti [.]}$
 6. $\text{par-ši šá } \text{ṛeršetim}^{\text{tim}} \text{rabîtu}^{\text{ti}} \text{kalî}^{\text{ṛ}}\text{-šú-nu } \text{ṛlu- x x}^{\text{ṛ}} \quad [\text{x}]$

⁷² cf. iii, 25'-27'. Traces at end of l. 31 not as copied; head of vertical only visible.

⁷³ cf. 49'.

⁷⁴ cf. i, 52, iv, 24.

⁷⁵ Error for *is*? Or read *su*-[ul-luḫ-šu]-ma (II. 1, stative)?

⁷⁶ Text: *su*.

⁷⁷ These signs were copied from an old photograph, as the tablet has broken away here.

⁷⁸ Text: DÙ-šú KA.

⁷⁹ cf. iv, 44 and 48.

- 31'. On his entering the [courtyard of Anu],
 32'. all [the god]s knelt [humbly]
 33'. [The god]s of the land k[nelt]
 34'. [He went straight up to] one, [but he did not] see that god.
 35'. He went straight up to [a second, a third,] but he did not see that god.
 36'. Namtar went and said to his lady :
 37'. " My lady, you who sent me [to the heaven of] Anu your father,
 38'. my lady, [*there is a god*] bald, cross-eyed, lame . . . sitting in the
 assembly of all the gods."
 39'. " Go ! " (said she) " seize that god and bring him to me !
 40'. Ea, his *father*, has *sp*[rinkled him with] spring water,
 41'. the bald, cross-eyed, lame one . . . who was sitting in the assembly of
 all the gods."
 42'. Namtar ascended the long stairway of heaven.
 43'. On his arrival at the gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea,
 44'. Anu, Enlil and Ea saw him and (said) :
 45'. " What have you come for, Namtar ? " " Your daughter sent me
 46'. saying : ' Seize that god and bring him to me.' "
 47'. " Namtar, enter into the courtyard of Anu !
 48'. Seek from him your *injuries* ; take [him]."
 49'. He went straight up to one, but he did not see [that god.]
 50'. He went straight up to [a second, a] third, [but he did not see that
 god.]
 51'. He went straight up to [a fourth, a fifth, but he did not see that god.]
 52'. [. . .] opened his mouth to speak [and said] to Ea . . .
 53'. [" . . Na]mtar, the messenger who has come [to us],
 54'. *let him drink* [*our water*], let him wash (and) anoint [*his body*]."

About six lines missing. Namtar somehow finds Nergal, tells him he is taking him down to the Underworld, and warns him that the porters at the seven gates will each remove from him something that he wears or carries. Nergal replies :—

Col. VI

1. " May he not strip off [.]."
2. " Erra, I will make you go [.] upon him [.],
3. I *will kill* you . . . [.]."
4. " Namtar, your *errand* . . . [.]."
5. " Erra,[.]
6. all the ordinances of the great Underworld I *will* [*disclose to you*].

7. *ul-tú* ʿan¹-ni-i ina a-la-k[i-ka]
 8. †áš um ki na ^{giš}kussá lu-ú n[a-šá-ta]
 9. ʿx x x¹ lu-ú n[a-šá-ta]
 10. [.] lu-ú n[a-šá-t]a
 11. [.] lu-ú [na-š]á-ta
 12. [.] lu-ú [na]-šá-ta
 13. [.] l[u-ú n]a-šá-ta
 14. [.]x ʿUNU¹meš
 15. [.] ka [x] i x x GAB-ka
 16. [dÈr-ra a-mat dNam-tar] ʿiš-ta-kan⁸⁰ ana libbi-šú
 17. [x x x š]er-ret-su i[p-šu]-uš-ma ^{giš}qašta-šú [i]t-lul
 18. [ú-rid dNe]rgal ʿár-kat¹ s¹sim-me-[lat šá-m]a-m[i]⁸¹
 19. ʿbāba¹ šá dEreš-[ki-gal] ina k[a-šá-d]i
 20. lúatú pi-t[a-an-ni] ʿbāba¹
 21. lúatú šá bābi [^{giš}kussâ-šú ina] bābi i-lul-šu-ma
 22. ana TI-[e-šú] ul i-din
 23. II-ú šá b[ābi] ʿx x¹-šú KI. MIN
 24. ʿIII-šá¹ [šá bābi x x]-šú KI. MIN
 25. ʿIV¹-[u šá bābi x x -šú] KI. MIN
 26. ʿV¹-[šú šá bābi x x]-šú KI. MIN
 27. [VI-šú šá bābi x x]-šú KI. MIN
 28. [VII-u šá bābi x x]-šú KI. MIN
 29. i-r[u-u]m-ma ana pal-ki-i ki-sal-li-i-šá
 30. i¹-ʿi-ir¹-ši-ma i-ši-ih
 31. iš-bat-si-ma i-na up-ri-i-ši⁸²
 32. ul-tú tmu[h-ḥi ^{giš}kussá] ʿi¹-UD-x[x x]x -ʿši¹
 33. iš-ba-si-ma [i-na ab]-ʿbu-ut-ti-šá⁸³
 34. ʿma-la¹ ra-ʾ-i[-mu-t]i-šu šá ʿlib!¹-[bi]-šú!
 35. [i]n-na-{an}-ad-ʿru-ma¹ aḥḥi^{meš} ki-lal-l[a-a]n⁸⁴
 36. ʿana ma-a-a-li šit¹-mu-riš i-ter-b[u]
 37. ʿI-en¹ ūma^{ma} II-a ūma^{ma} ʿšal-lu-ma šar¹-ʿarat ʿdEreš¹-[ki-gal u dÈ]r-ra
 38. III-šá ūma^{ma} KI. MIN
 39. *IV-a ūma^{ma85} KI. MIN
 40. ʿV-šá ūma¹[^{ma}] KI. MIN
 41. [VI-šá ūma^{ma}] KI. MIN
 42. [VII-u ūmu^{mu} ina] ka-šá-di-i
-
43. [dA-num pā-šú ipuš-m]a iqabbi
 44. [a-na dKà-kà sukkalli-šu] a-mat izakkar^{ár}
 45. [dKà-kà ana eršet lā tāri l]u-uš-pur-ka
 46-7. [ana bīt dEreš-ki-ga]l a-ši-bat qí-rib dIr-kal-la

⁸⁰ Possibly so, according to collation.

⁸¹ Very doubtful.

⁸² Error for -šá.

⁸³ On collation, the traces of the last sign appeared like šá.

⁸⁴ cf. Gilg. VI, 156. Alternatively aḥa-meš ki-lal-la-an.

⁸⁵ Text : V-šá. Emendation suggested by W. G. Lambert. See commentary.

7. On [your] departure from here
 8. a throne ; carry it with you.
 9. [.] carry it with you.
 10. [.] carry it with you.
 11. [.] carry it with you.
 12. [.] carry it with you.
 13. [.] carry it with you.
 14. [.] . . dwellings.
 15. [.] your breast."
 16. [Erra] laid to his heart [the words of Namtar],
 17. [. . . .] oiled his strap and slung his bow.
 18. Nergal [descended] the long stairway [of heav]en.
 19. On his arrival at the gate of Ereshkigal,
 20. " Porter, open the gate [for me] ! " (he said).
 21. The porter of the gate hung up [his throne at] the gate and
 22. did not allow (him) to take [it].
 22. The second (porter) of the gate did the same to his [. . . .]
 23. The third (porter) [of the gate] did the same to his [. . . .]
 24. The fourth (porter) [of the gate] did the same to his [. . . .]
 25. The fifth (porter) [of the gate] did the same to his [. . . .]
 26. [The sixth (porter) of the gate] did the same to his [. . . .]
 27. [The seventh (porter) of the gate] did the same to his [. . . .]
 29. He entered her spacious courtyard,
 30. went up to her and laughed.
 31. He seized her by her coiffure,
 32. and pulled her from off [her throne.]
 33. He seized her [by] her tresses,
 34. for the love that was in his heart.
 35. The brother and sister embraced,⁸⁶
 36. passionately they entered the bed.
 37. One day, a second day, they lay, the queen [Ereshkigal and Er]ra ;
 38. a third day they lay, the queen Ereshkigal and Erra,
 39. a fourth day they lay, the queen Ereshkigel and Erra,
 40. a fifth [day] they lay, the queen Ereshkigal and Erra,
 41. [a sixth day] they lay, the queen Ereshkigal and Erra.
 42. [When the seventh day] arrived,
 43. [Anu opened his mouth] to speak
 44. [and] said [to Kaka, his minister] :
 45. [" Kaka,] I will send you [to the Land of No Return,]
 46-7. [to the house of Ereshkigal] who dwells in Irkalla,

⁸⁶ Or : the pair embraced each other.

48. [um-ma ilu šá-a-šú] šá áš- {šú} -pu-rak-ki
 49. [li-šib it-ti-ki a-na ūmē]^{me} da-ru-u-tú
 50. [.....] e-la-a-ti
 51. [..... ša] p-la-a-ti
 52.]i-ma 53.]x

Room for about twelve lines to end of tablet, but this may have included a colophon.

NOTES

- I 1'. There is no external evidence, such as curvature, that this is the first line of the text; but the remains of the first four lines look very much like the beginning of a hymnal introduction, such as those to the Myth of Zû (*RA.* LI, 107), *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (*Orientalia* 28, 362), and perhaps the Epic of Gilgamesh (*ZA.* XLII, 93, n. 1).
- I 10'. *an-nu-ú-na*, for *an-nu-ú-ni* "our sins", would be a dialect form of a type which is common in the Sultantepe texts; see e.g. *AfO.* XVII, 354, n. 1, and Lambert in *RA.* LIII, 125.
- I 19'. For the restoration suggested, cf. Schollmeyer, *Šamaš*, no. 7, 6 (= *OECT.* VI, 11): *da-la-at ša-me-e lik-ru-ba-a-kum*, and Descent of Ishtar 40: *ir-bi be-el-ti GÚ.DU₈.A.KI li-riš-ki*.
- I 32', 34'. *ina šatti-ki, ina arhi-ni*. This looks like an allusion to the religious calendar, but its significance is not apparent.
- I 33'. *ni-nu-ma ul šá a-ra-di*. The Amarna tablet has here *ni-i-nu ú-lu nu-[u]r-ra-da-ak-ki*, in which *ú-lu* is now seen to be a mistake for *ul*. The idea that the *dei superi* were allowed to visit Ereshkigal regularly (Oppenheim in *Orientalia* 19, 148) is therefore based on a misapprehension.
- I 41'. I am indebted to Rev. W. L. Moran, of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, for drawing my attention to the juxtaposition of Nammu and Nanshe in *Šurpu* viii, 19, and for suggesting that ^a*Na-áš* may therefore be a phonetic writing for Nanshe. Another reference for this pair of deities is *BE.* I, 83 rev. 14-15 (Lambert).
- I 40'-50'. An elaboration of the common epistolary formula, on which see Landsberger in *MAOG.* IV, 300.
- II 4'. *kan-su*. In the Amarna version Nergal fails to stand up (30: *i-la ša i-na pa-ni-ka la it-bu-u*), but the traces in ll. 4 and 8 cannot be restored as parts of *tebú* and the gods unquestionably kneel in iii, 26. Does this indicate a change in social customs between the two periods?
- II 6'. On *paršu* as "authority" see B. Landsberger in *AKF.* II, 66.
- II 9'. *aš-ša-nap-rak-kam-ma*. The translation of *šapāru* as "roll" the eyes is conventional; the exact motion indicated is uncertain, see *AS.* IV, 79. In *Ludlul* I, 81, also it is evidently equivalent to "winking" and this may in fact be its true meaning.
- II 10'. [*te-e*] *r-ra-a-ta* for *tirāta* would be an instance of vowel length indicated by a doubled consonant, to be added to those cited by Lambert in *RA.* LIII, 125.
- II 11'. The last word could be restored as *ri-^re^r-[ši-k]a* "your head".
- II 22'. For *šapāru* "to govern", cf. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (forthcoming) 155, IM 53946 obv. 5; if this reading is correct, Ea's plan may be to bring about the installation of Nergal as king of the Underworld. But the lines that follow suggest rather that he wishes to make sure that Nergal is able to return from the Underworld, i.e. to save his life (*zi-ti*?). Despite repeated collation, I have not succeeded in deciphering this line.

48. [to say : ' *That god*] whom I sent to you,
 49. [*shall dwell with you* for] eternity.
 50. [.....] the upper world,
 51. [.....] the lower world.
 52-3. (Traces only.)

Probably less than twelve lines missing to end of poem.

- II 25' ff. cf. Gilgamesh X, 41 ff. In the present passage ll. 32'-34' seem to show that three objects are fashioned. These must be enumerated in ll. 27' and 30' and this in turn requires a reference to three trees in ll. 26' and 29'. Otherwise the object of the verb *ḥašābu* in 27' and 30' would naturally be read as another tree, the verb being known only in the sense "to cut or break off (branches)" (*CAD.*). Perhaps the D theme of this verb, which is otherwise unattested, meant "to pare off shavings (intensively)", i.e. "to carve" (Lambert).
- II 31'. The mutilation of this line renders the purpose of the operation obscure. Ningishzida appears in mythology as the gatekeeper of heaven, together with Tammuz (myth of Adapa, *ANET.* 101), but the name of Tammuz cannot be read here and the natural reading [^dA]-*nim* seems out of place.
- II 32'-34'. *ú-taq-qí*, from *eqû* "to daub, paint"; cf. *te-qí-i-šu* "paint it", parallel to *zu-úh-ḥi-in* "adorn", *MSL.* IV, 114, 16, quoted in *CAD.* "E", 252 (which otherwise has only medical passages). A derivation from (*w*)*aqû* "to pay attention" makes no sense.
- II 39' ff. The general sense of this passage is clear, but the text seems to be corrupt. The repeated *e ta-mir* must be from (*w*)*áru* "to go", as in *Šurpu* ii, 77, *im-i-ru*, for which Miss Reiner suggests the meaning "he went ahead", and *STT.* I, 16, i, 26, *i'-mi-ri* (var. *ir-ru*); possibly to be taken as an auxiliary verb, like Hittite *uwa-* and *pā-* (Friedrich, *Heth. Elementarbuch* I, § 315).⁸⁷ ll. 40 and 44 are then straightforward. The difficulty lies in the fact that in ll. 41' and 43' the negative before the last verb is clearly *ul*, not *e*, and the verb in l. 41' is third person. This can only be explained as contamination with the parallel passage iii, 54 ff., where the indicative with *ul* is in place and where there is in fact a similar difficulty (v. ad loc.), though it is hard to see how this could occur.
- II 46'. *lu-ub-bu-ši* [x]-*mu-šú*: hardly *lubuši mušu* "night garments", for no such garments were worn in the ancient world.
- II 47'. *uš-ta-bar-rak-ka* should be from *šutabrá* "to endure, continue"; see von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, Lieferung 2, 123, s.v. *berú(m)* II. No such form from *barú* "to see" is attested, yet this seems to be the sense required by the context, unless the passage has been misunderstood.
- III 7'. *su-um-me* for *summati*: cf. *Ludlul* I, 107, and note, *AS.* IV, 80.
- III 13'. For the reading *ú-a-ad-[du-ka]* in *Gilg.* XII, 15, see Kramer, *JAOs.* LXIV, 21, n. 105, and *ANET.* 97, n. 238.
- III 54' ff. Here we have, as we should expect, the pronoun *-šu* in *na-šu-niš-šu* (where the corresponding passage has *na-ši-ka*) and indicatives with *ul* (*ul e-kul*, *ul [iš]-ti*), but the vetitive *e ta-mir* can only be explained here by contamination.

⁸⁷ A similar use of this verb is found in the Counsels of Wisdom: *ina puhri e ta'-ir ú-zu-uz-za* "do not (rashly) go and stand in the assembly" (Lambert, op. cit., p. 100, l. 31), though here the infinitive is used instead of a second vetitive.

- IV 9'. For *ahhū* used of brothers and sisters together, see Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, I, p. 340.
- IV 16'. *ar-ki-šū* : cf. *ar-ki* ^a*Is-tar*, Descent of Ishtar obv. 76, in a similar context.
- IV 17'. *muš-ri-in-ni* : on such shortened forms see Lambert in *RA*. LIII, 126.
- IV 18'. Reading I.DIB (*askuppātu*), Lambert would compare Gilg. II, ii, 50, which he has found on collation to read ^r*šip*-[*pu*] *ir-ū-bu* (see *ZA*. LIII, 223).
- IV 31'-32'. Whether or not the verb in 31 is correctly restored, the two halves of this couplet must stand in the relation of cause and effect. Namtar in v, 38, sees only the observable effect; Ereshkigal, with her greater wisdom, understands the cause also (v, 40-41). By means of the spring water Ea presumably casts a magic spell on Nergal, in order to make him unrecognisable.
- qu-bu-ḥu* : see *CAD*. s.v. *gubbuḥu* ("G", 117-18) and references there cited. The authors of *CAD*. have distinguished two words; but in the present context of physical defects—and therefore in the parallel passage (*gu-bu-uh*) of the Amarna version—the adjective, for which the meaning "bald" is practically certain, is clearly in place. In the only other passage cited for the second word (*AfO*. XI, Pl. II, rev. 10) the reading is in doubt.
- šundur* is a defect referring to the eyes or the mouth (Labat, *TDP*. 142, 3, with note 249); perhaps literally "twisted sideways", hence cross-eyed.
- pussul* : according to the *šumma izbu* commentary, 415-16, *pasālu* = *kuppulu* "lame"; cf. Holma, *Personnamen der Form quttulu* 35.
- IV 39a ff. Evidently a similar spell is cast by Ereshkigal in order to detain Nergal on his return to the Underworld.
- IV 42'. There are seven children of Enmesharra, of whom four are female (Thureau-Dangin in *RA*. XVI, 150 ff., and J. Lewy in *Hebrew Union College Annual* XVII, 26), but the allusion here to two daughters is obscure, as is the identity of the first deity mentioned. There are two daughters of Anu, who draw water, mentioned in an incantation against eye-sickness (Thompson, *AMT*. 10, 1, iii, 19 = *JNES*. XIV, 16, and XVII, 57); but these mythological projections of the two eyes (separated by a wall!) would be out of place here, in an Underworld context. Their function is very different from that of the well-known *mārat Anim*—*Lamaštu*—whose ideogram is suggested above as a possible reading of the first divine name in the line. But if this reading is correct (there is not room for ^a[*A-nim* ^a*Di*]M.ME), what is the relation of *Lamaštu* to ^a*En-me-ḥi*? The latter (however read) can hardly be another daughter of Anu. The context suggests that these deities are the parents of the two girls; but there is no evidence that *Lamaštu* was married to Enmešarra.
- IV 54', 56'. In favour of the reading *it-ta-tal-kan-ni* are the late Assyrian forms *i-ta-ta-ku-ū-ni* and *i-ta-ta-ka*, which appear to be from *alāku* I. 2 (Saggs in *Iraq* XXI, 171, note on line 7').
- V 3'. *mi-lu-lu* : on the meaning and etymology of this word see now B. Landsberger in *WZKM*. LVI, 1960 (*Festschrift Duda*), 119-120, note 30.
- V 5', 6'. *taš-[pu]-ra-na-niṣ-ma*, *šup-pu-ra-na-šu-ma*; it is assumed that the ventive + *šu* is intended (as in iii, 54' ff., *na-šu-niṣ-šu*) rather than the 1 pl. suffix *-naši* (as in iv, 48', *il-li-ka-na-ši*); *-na* for *-ni* in the ventive would be a further example of the fondness of the Sultantepe scribes for the vowel *a* (cf. note on i, 10' above).
- V 7'. *musukku*, fem. *musukkatu*, denotes a person under a sexual taboo; see Jacobsen in *JNES*. V (1946), 133, and in *Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man* (1946), 153. It is a loan-word from Sum. *usug* (on which see Falkenstein, *Grammatik der Sprache Gudeas* I, 34) and appears also in the form *ú-suk-ku* (*CT*. XIX, 26, 17, rendered by Meissner, *BAW*. II, 9, "hierodule"), in a context showing that the masc. form can be used also of females.

Otherwise the fem. form is used in late texts (*KAR.* 300, rev. 6, *CT.* XXIII, 3, 10, Thompson, *AMT.* 10, 1, iii, 2-3). Enlil is *mu-su-uk-kum* (formerly read *mu-su-ug-qu*) after committing rape (see Jacobsen, loc. cit., and previously *PSBA.* 1911, 87, *JRAS.* 1919, 191, and *RA.* XIX, 72) and the present context is somewhat similar. Elsewhere the *musukkatu* is usually held to be a menstruating woman. The milk of a ^{sa}ú-zug occurs frequently in medical texts (Thompson, *AMT.* 8, 1, 22; 12, 3, 5; 13, 2, 9; 13, 6, 13; 57, 10, 5), presumably in this sense.

ul e-¹bek¹. This reading, interpreted as a somewhat barbarous spelling of *ebbēk(u)* "I am pure", is adopted with all reserve, as giving the best sense. *e-piq* could only be stative ("is solid"); a verb *pāqu* (Holma, *Personennamen der Form quttulu*, 81-2) "to be tight, narrow" seems highly questionable; *e-siq* would mean "I have drawn".

V 33'. [*ilāni*]^{meš} *šá māti*: cf. *ilāni*^{meš} *mātāte*^{meš}, *KAR.* 324, 3 (Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* 162).

V 48'. ¹tar-gi¹-ge-ti-ka. The reading is uncertain; but there is a *targīgu* "offender, opponent", and *targīgum*, pl. *targīgēti* "offence" would be a recognised formation from the same root.

V 54'. cf. Aššurnāširpal's inscription, *Iraq* XIV, 35, 152.

VI 2. *a-šá-al-la-ka*, for *ušallakka*: this type of error is also characteristic of the Sultantepe tablets; cf. *AS.* VI, 162, note on *i-maš-šir* (142), also *i-šar-di-šu*, *STT.* 3, obv. 59.

a-dāk-ka: cf. Ereshkigal's words in the Amarna version (l. 27): *lu-ú-du-uk-šu* "I will kill him". Nergal as a permanent resident of the Underworld becomes a "dead god": cf. *dingiruggê*, *En. el.* IV, 120, and *ilāni mītūti*, ibid. VI, 154 (with notes by Oppenheim, *Orientalia* XVI, 229, and Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* 41, n. 89).

Is it a coincidence that in the final paragraph of the "Dialogue of Pessimism" (Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, 80) the words *a-dak-ka* and *ú-šal-lak-ka* occur in the same line?

VI 8. A word meaning "I will give you" is apparently required; one might consider *áš-^{*}ruk*, but the fem. suffix *-ki-na* is inexplicable. It seems that six (seven?) objects are given to Erra only to be taken from him by the porters of the seven gates.

VI 17. For the verb *talālu* see von Soden in *Orientalia* XXII (1953), 260 ff.

VI 22-28. The omission of *atū* is curious; *šá bābi* "the one of the gate" appears to be used as a quasi-substantive.

VI 30. *i'-i-ir-ši*: cf. K. 3505, 14 (Ebeling, *Handerhebung* 94), *a-a-u ilu . . . i-ir-ru ka-a-ša* "What god . . . goes against you?"

VI 31. On *upru*, a hair-style, see Falkenstein, *LKTU.* 6, n. 2, and Lambert in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, IV, 14.

VI 32. This line must somehow correspond to ll. 78-9 of the Amarna version: *ú-qt-id-di-da-aš-ši-im-ma iš-tu ku-us-si-i a-na ga-a-ag-ga-ri*.

VI 37-42. If we restore two days in every line, as in 37, the unlikely total of eleven days is reached. The epic style requires a series of either seven (*passim*) or twelve (e.g. Gilgamesh III, vi, 7-12, IX, iv, 47-v, 46, X, iv, 1-7).

TWO MILESTONES FROM PONTUS

By D. R. WILSON

THE TWO STONES described below were discovered by the writer during journeys in Pontus made in the summer of 1958, as joint-scholar of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara.¹ It is hoped to publish shortly the remainder of the material recorded in that and in the following year.

1. Zile, lying inside the castle. Milestone, much weathered.

H. c. 1.50; letters 0.03 to 0.08; between lines c. 0.03.

Impression.

CAESAR
AN AVR. EVERV
AN IN
IIVSEELIX IN
VICTVS AVS
PONT·MAX TRIV
POTESTAS
PP PROCO
PER Q·H·V·L·PROCVLE
IANVM LEG PR
PR MILI
ZELIT.

[Imp.] Caesar
M. Aur. [S]everu[s]
A[lexa]n[der]
[P]ius Felix In-

5 victus Aug.
pont. max. trib.
potestas [cos.]
p. p. proco[s].
per Q. Iul. Procule-

10 ianum leg. pr.
pr. Mil. I

12 Zelit.

0 10 20 30 40 50 cm

For two other milestones of Severus Alexander from the Zela-Sebastopolis road see F. Cumont in *CRAI*. 1905, p. 347 f. One of these was found 2 km. to the south-east of Zile and its text bears a strong similarity to that published here; a comparison of the two is illuminating for both. I shall refer to the stone published by Cumont as "the Ağbaba

¹ My thanks are due to Mr. Seton Lloyd, the Director of the Institute, and to Mr. James Mellaart, the Assistant Director, for help and advice over two seasons in Turkey, and more especially to Mr. Michael Gough (who has also read this article) for his continued assistance and encouragement over a number of years. I should also like to thank the various members of the Turkish Department of Antiquities who have helped me on my way through northern Anatolia.

stone", as it was evidently found close to Ağbaba Tepesi, and to the stone published here as "the Zile stone".

L.5. The Ağbaba stone reads AVGV, but there is no trace of a final V on the Zile stone.

L.7. *Potestas* in the nominative is ungrammatical but certain. The Ağbaba stone reads *potesta x*, but there is no sign on the Zile stone of any numeral in this position. At the end of the line are faint traces of lettering, which are interpreted on the analogy of the parallel text as COS.

L.8. The Zile stone reads PP. The bows of these letters are quite clear, and there is no possibility of reading them as a numeral. It is possible that the true reading of the Ağbaba stone is also PP; an alternative suggestion will be made below.

L.11. The reading of this line in the Ağbaba inscription is PA..IL. Cumont suggested [*Cap*] *pa*[*d. M*]*il.*[*P.*], but recognised that this was not a satisfactory solution.² The Zile stone does not decisively remove the *crux*, but it is suggestive. It appears to bear the letters PR in place of PA, reading simply *pr. Mil.* with the addition of a numeral. This suggests the reading *pr. [M]il.* for the Ağbaba stone also. If, however, the letter A is to be regarded as certain there, an alternative would be [*pr. Mil.*] *pa*[*s. v*]*ii.*

The numeral I appears to be on the stone, but it might be a damaged P; if a numeral, II and III are also possibilities.

L.12. *Zelit.* is puzzling, but all the letters are certain and there do not appear to be any more in this line. The word does not occur on the Ağbaba stone, unless the letter Z is a relic of it. (In that case one would read the mileage as II rather than [V]II, but it is preferable to accept Z as a numeral.) It does, however, recall a fragment of a milestone found

at Kervansaray in the Artova,³ whose only legend was $\pi\alpha\tau\tilde{\iota} \text{ MIL}$. The broken letters appear to be the lower halves of just those letters we are considering. If this is so, the fragment has travelled a long way, for one cannot doubt the connexion with Zela.

The phrase to be expected, a *Zelis*, parallel to a *Sebastopoli* on the second stone published by Cumont,⁴ cannot be read because the final T is quite certain. The MSS of Stephen of Byzantium⁵ give two forms of the ethnic of Zela: Ζηλήτης and Ζηλίτης. The latter is, however, excluded here by the presence of the legate's name, which is sufficient to show that the repair programme was not a piece of civic enterprise. The sole remaining possibility is the district name, Zelitis. Thus it appears that the local name on this milestone is not the name of the *caput viae*, although it stands next to the mileage figure, but simply announces in

² CRAI. 1905, p. 348.

³ REG. XVII (1904), p. 334.

⁴ CRAI. 1905, p. 348, n. 1.

⁵ Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Ζήλα.

whose territory the milestone stands. I know of no parallel for this usage, which must be regarded as something of a curiosity.

There is no date to be found on the Zile stone, and its text may throw some doubts on the numerals of the Ağbaba inscription, but the issue is settled by the third stone of the series, found at Malümseyit and referred to in the preceding paragraph. This fixes the year as A.D. 231, in which Alexander hastened to the eastern frontier to meet the threat of the Sassanian invader, Ardashir (Artaxerxes).

The repair of the Zela-Sebastopolis road was closely related to these events by Cumont,⁶ who suggested that the work had been executed in great haste. He based this belief on evidence that the work had proceeded from both ends simultaneously—firstly because the mileage numbers were counted in this way, one from Zela and another from Sebastopolis, and secondly because the orthography of the legate's name differed between the two stones that he published.

As for the mileages, it is surely the rule rather than the exception that the mileage on a milestone should be reckoned from the city in whose territory the stone is to stand; at the boundary between two cities, even where they are of the same province, the mileage figures begin to run in the other direction.⁷ In the case of the orthography, or at least of the lay-out of the inscriptions on the stone, the argument is stronger. Spelling indeed is not necessarily consistent throughout a milestone series, even where the texts are otherwise identical,⁸ but there is little doubt that one hand was responsible for the Zile and Ağbaba stones and another for that found at Malümseyit. The text to be inscribed on each of the stones was evidently standard, but the engravers made their own arrangements of it. It is possible too that, just as the one engraver confused the legate's name with the similar name Proclianus, so the other, misreading his exemplar, inscribed PP where there should have been a numeral, and gave us the unexpected forms *potestas* and *Želit*, where he should have cut *potesta. x* and *Želis*. If the numeral I on the Zile stone is correct, it will have been the first to be engraved, and this may explain the presence of such errors.

To this extent the new milestone supports Cumont's theory of two work-parties and a hurried programme. Repairs had been carried out the previous year to a vital road in closer contact with the enemy, the main east-west road through the Cilician plain,⁹ and work on the road through Cappadocia to the Euphrates at Melitene, though not closely datable, is likely to be of the same period.¹⁰ Probably the Zela-Sebastopolis road repair scheme had to yield second place to these major projects and may thus have had to be completed under pressure.

Besides the milestones of Septimius Severus,¹¹ Severus Alexander,

⁶ *CRAI*. 1905, p. 349 f.

⁷ For an example of a milestone that actually records the boundary of a city territory see *AM*. XXXIII (1908), p. 152, no. 7.

⁸ For an example see under 2.c below, p. 138.

⁹ *AE*. 1922, No. 129.

¹⁰ *CIL*. III, 6906 = 12169, 6954 = 12211, ? 6939 = 12187.

¹¹ *BCH*. XXXIII (1909), p. 27.

Gordian III¹² and Diocletian,¹³ this road is also recorded by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, but in a corrupt section whose significance has not been fully understood. On the Table four roads are shown radiating from the city of Tavium towards the east, each one of which can be shown to be more or less corrupt. We are here concerned with two of these roads, that from Tavium to Neocaesarea via Zela, and that from Tavium to Comana Pontica via [Sebastopolis]¹⁴ :

- i. *Tavio xxxvi Rogmorum xxxvi Aegonne xxviii Ptemari xxvi Zela xxxii Stabulum xxii Seramisa xvi Neocaesaria.*
- ii. *Tavio xvi Tomba xxii Evgoni (an erasure) ad Stabulum xxii Mesyla xvii Comana Pontica.*

A number of anomalies are immediately apparent, the absence, for example, of Comana from the Zela route, and similarly of Sebastopolis from the more southerly road. The equivalence of *Aegonne* and *Evgoni* was noted by Sir William Ramsay,¹⁵ and the same scholar suggested that *Rogmorum* was a corruption of *Trocmorum*, an epithet of Tavium.¹⁶ With these hints it is possible to reconstruct a plausible version of the routes quoted above, a version which will also contain the route from Zela to Sebastopolis that has been under discussion.

The absence of the city Sebastopolis from the routes of the *Peutinger Table* was noted by J. G. C. Anderson, and he suggested that a corrupt form of the name might be preserved in the station *ad Stabulum*.¹⁷ This conjecture is supported by the mileage *xxxii* between Zela and the other *Stabulum* in the northern route, for this is the actual distance between the two cities by the old road. However, even on the *Peutinger Table* the road from Zela to Neocaesarea does not go by way of Sebastopolis, so there must be an intrusive element in the Zela route. We may either assume that *Stabulum* = Sebastopolis and is misplaced, or that it is a genuine station on the northern route and that the figure *xxxii* has been transferred to it from a corrupted [*Sebastopolim*]. The second alternative is the more plausible and is that adopted in this analysis. The reason for the mileage figure being transferred in this way will be made clear in the next paragraph.

When Ramsay interpreted *Rogmorum* as the epithet of Tavium, as mentioned above, he reasonably assumed that the repetition of the figure *xxxvi* was caused by the necessity of making up the spurious stage in the Zela route.¹⁸ But if the other mileages are applied to the actual country between Aegonne (at Sorgun) and Zela, they are found to be inadequate. It is better, therefore, to accept the mileages as they stand in the Table,

¹² *CIL*. III, 6749 = 6894 = 14184¹⁶.

¹³ *Studia Pontica*, II (1906), pp. 195–6. *BCH*. XXXIII (1909), p. 27.

¹⁴ *Tabula Peutingeriana*, X, 1–2.

¹⁵ W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, (London, 1890), p. 261.

¹⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 260, note.

¹⁷ *Studia Pontica*, I (1903), p. 33.

¹⁸ *op. cit.*, p. 260, note.

and to suppose that the stations have been each displaced one position by the bogus station *Rogmorum*. If then the stations are restored to their original places with regard to the mileage figures, the distances agree perfectly with those measured on the ground and also with Anderson's identification of Pleuramis with the fortress close to Çuruk.¹⁹ It is this process of displacement that made the gap into which the figure *xxxii* so easily slipped.

Stabulum is now seen to be at Pazar; *Comana Pontica* must be inserted in its proper place and the following mileage also restored; and the mileage between *Seramisa*, correctly placed at Omala by Cumont,²⁰ and *Neocaesareia* must be emended to *xviii*. The restored text is thus made to read:

Tavium Trocmorum xxxvi Aegonne xxxvi Pleuramis xxviii
Zela xxvi Stabulum xxii Comana Pontica xi Seramisa xviii
Neocaesareia,

with a branch road,

Zela xxxii Sebastopolis.

It would be pleasant if the southern route were as amenable, but this is not the case. The section between Aegonne-Evgoni and Sebastopolis is completely missing, while the section from there to Comana obviously contains mileages derived from the northern route. The sequence of stations may be genuine and recall a route by way of Tokat, but the details are not recoverable.

2. Yornus (Taşova ilçesi). Built into the wall of a Byz. house, *c.* 10 minutes' walk E. of the village, in the valley of a tributary of the Taneli Dere. Milestone, the top damaged and a piece of the lower half broken away in antiquity. H. 2.10, diameter 0.50; letters, mostly poorly cut and sometimes superimposed, 0.02 to 0.10. Impression, copy and photograph (not reproduced).

a. (Lines 3-16)

Imp. Caes. G. Aur. Val. | Diocletiano | [P.F.] Inv. Aug. et || [imp. Caes. M. Aur. Val. | Maximiano] | P.F. Inv. Aug. et Fl. Val. | Constantio et | Gal. Val. Maximiano || nobiliss. Caess. | Mil. P. XXXV | ΜΙΛ . ΛΕ | [Au]r. Priscianus [V.P.] || [P]r. P.D.N.M.Q. eo[rum].

There are traces of an earlier text beneath this one, especially between lines 11 and 13, but they are almost entirely illegible.

For the erasure of Maximian's name and titles there is a parallel from Asia Minor in *CIL*. III, 133=6661.

Aurelius Priscianus appears in the primary inscriptions of two other milestones of this road (which linked Neocaesareia with Amaseia), *CIL*. III, 14184²⁰ (at Çalkara) and 14184²¹ (at Fidi). He also set up

¹⁹ *op. cit.*, p. 45.

²⁰ *Studia Pontica*, II (1906), p. 256.

milestones on the Gangra–Amaseia road,²¹ the Amaseia–Comana road²² and the great north–south trade route through Zela.²³

The stone is evidently not *in situ*, as the distance to Neocaesarea is about 43 Roman miles. Of the other numbered milestones on this road those at Çalkara and Fidi have also been carried out of position, some 10 and 5 miles respectively, and that at Baraklı²⁴ has almost certainly been carried some distance, though there the reading is uncertain.

b. (Lines 17–20)

DDD. NNN. Fl. Val. Crispo et | Val. Constantino et | Fl. Constantino nobbb. | Caesss.

This inscription is of Constantine's first three sons as Caesars. The date is between A.D. 323, when Constantius was made Caesar, and A.D. 326, when Crispus was put to death.

For the *nomen* Valerius of Crispus and Constantine cf. *CIL.* III, 6969, and for the spelling *Constantino* instead of *Constantio* cf. *CIL.* III, 14463b.

c. (Lines 1–8)

Impe[ratori Ca]es. | Fl. Val. C[onst]antino | maximo victor[i] | ac triumphator[i] | semper Aug. || et Fl. Cl. Constantino | et Fl. Iul. Constantio | et Fl. Iul. Constantae | [nnnobbb Caesss].

Milestones of this series with an identical formula (except that the Baraklı stone has the form *Constantiae*) are *CIL.* III, 14184¹⁹ (Niksar), 14184²⁰ (Çalkara), 14184²¹ (Fidi) and *Mél. Beyrouth* III, 1908, p. 441, No. 2 (Baraklı).

The date is between A.D. 333, when Constans became Caesar, and A.D. 337 (the death of Constantine I).

d. (Lines 9–13)

Impp. Caess. DD. NN. | Fl. Valentiniano || et Fl. Valente | et Grat{uis}<i> ano | perpetui[s Auggg].

The name of Gratianus was presumably added after the death of Valentinian in A.D. 375. The engraver of the addition was both clumsy and careless. After cutting the T of *Gratiano* in line 12 he completed the word as if it were *perpetuis* in the following line; then perceiving his mistake, he added the letters ANO, but without erasing the intrusive group VIS.

Traces of an earlier text are visible from time to time beneath this and probably also the preceding inscription. In lines 9–10 it is possible to read the word IMP, but the remainder is unintelligible.

e. (Lines 4–6)

D.N. Fl. H- | onorio || P. Aug.

It is strange to find the name of the ruler of the West standing alone

²¹ *CIL.* III, 14184³⁹.

²² *CIL.* III, 307.

²³ *BCH.* XXXIII (1909), p. 27.

²⁴ *Mél. Beyrouth*, III (1908), p. 441, No. 2.

on a milestone of Asia Minor, but it is quite clear from the way that it has been squeezed in between texts *a* and *c* that no other name was engraved beside that of Honorius.

As has been seen above, there are on the crowded face of this stone five legible inscriptions besides the traces of at least two others obliterated



by them. One of the latter lies beneath the Diocletianic text, which is the earliest of the legible, and therefore datable, inscriptions; it is thus safe to assert that this milestone provides for the road from Amaseia to Neocaesarea an epigraphic record of more than a century of highway maintenance.

The course of the road itself has been established over most of its length by the discoveries of Anderson²⁵ and G. de Jerphanion.²⁶ Only its central portion remained unconfirmed, though the arguments of de Jerphanion left little doubt as to its real path between Baraklı and

²⁵ *Studia Pontica*, I (1903), pp. 55 and 72.

²⁶ *Mél. Beyrouth*, III (1908), p. 439 f.

Fidi. These two villages appear to retain the names of stations on this road recorded by the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and their distance from each other agrees perfectly with the evidence of that document. The road is given in the Table ²⁷ in the following form :

Amasia xv Palalce xii Coloe x Pidis xvi Mirones x Neocaesaria.

That the road ran past the villages of Tekke, Darma, Yornus, Boladan and Kuşuh is confirmed, not so much by milestones (for none is *in situ*) as by the presence in those villages of the relics of Roman and Byzantine antiquity. Yornus is the modern settlement that, on the basis of the mileages in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ought to be the site of the intermediate station, *Coloe*, but the chief ancient site of the area is the neighbouring village of Darma. In Darma there is more talk of antiquities than there are actual antiquities forthcoming, but there is sufficient to show that this is indeed the site of an ancient settlement. Among the discoveries known to me simply by report are a rich grave with vessels of electrum,²⁸ a bronze female statuette, various other bronze objects and a burial in a terra-cotta coffin. The fields are strewn with potsherds, and while wall foundations are regularly grubbed up by the ploughman as soon as found, sufficient are preserved in the mire of the tracks between the fields to authenticate the reports of the local villagers. I therefore place Choloë at Darma, and I suggest that in view of the recorded mileages Palalce and Pida should perhaps be sought a mile or two to the west of the villages whose names so closely resemble theirs.

²⁷ *Tabula Peutingeriana*, X, 1-2.

²⁸ "Beyaz altın." The use of this expression makes it reasonably certain that the grave is genuine and not the invention of a zealous host ; the precious objects—one gold diadem, six cups and three pitchers of electrum, and other metal vessels—and the associated pottery are said to have gone to Ankara, apparently through official channels.

THE BYZANTINE CHURCHES OF TREBIZOND

By SELINA BALLANCE

THE MATERIAL IN this article was collected during a three-month stay in Trebizond (now Trabzon) in the summer of 1958, financed by the Henry L. Florence bursary awarded by the R.I.B.A., to whom I am most grateful not only for the bursary but for permission to publish the material collected.

My especial thanks are due to Mr. David Winfield, leader of the Russell Trust Expedition which is cleaning the wall-paintings in St. Sophia, Trebizond, for immense help and encouragement and for introductions both to churches and to officials ; to the officials, especially the Director of Education and the Mufti, for their courtesy and assistance ; to Bayan Aliye Aşurbay ; and to the many tapeholders, both Turkish and British, who were pressed into service.

It must be made clear at the start that, as I am an architect and neither scholar, archaeologist nor art historian, my approach is architectural and structural. The necessary reading of Greek, both inscriptions and reference books, has been done by my husband. In the matter of wall-paintings, of which there are many, I have done no more than comment on their existence.

The justification for carrying out this survey of the churches of Trebizond is that, though they are frequently referred to as forming an isolated offshoot of later Byzantine architecture and have been the subject of articles in learned journals, no accurate survey has been published of any of them. Texier, in *Description de l'Arménie*,¹ shows a view of St. Sophia, which is repeated in his *Byzantine Architecture*² with the addition of a plan and some details of the same church and a plan and section of the Chrysocephalos. Though interesting, they are, like much of Texier's work, unreliable. Millet's article on "Les Monastères et les Églises de Trébizonde"³ contains much useful historical and comparative material, but has only sketch plans, and those not always accurate in detail. The most thorough structural analyses of any of the churches were those carried out by N. Brounov and N. Baklanov,⁴ who studied the churches of St. Sophia, St. Eugenios and the Chrysocephalos during the brief Russian occupation of the city in 1916-17 and who were the first to draw attention to the evidence of major alterations to the buildings, though not all their theories are entirely convincing. And even they did not produce more than sketch

¹ C. Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie*, Paris, 1842, pp. 49, 50, Pl. 1.

² C. Texier and R. Pullan, *Byzantine Architecture*, London, 1864, pp. 189-202, 217-18, Pls. LX, LXIV.

³ G. Millet, "Les Monastères et les Églises de Trébizonde," *BCH.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 419-459.

⁴ N. Brounov, "La Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde," *Byzantion*, IV, pp. 393-408 ; N. Baklanov, "Deux Monuments Byzantins de Trébizonde," *Byzantion*, IV, pp. 363-391.

plans. Finally, Professor Talbot Rice's publications on Trebizond include an article on the religious buildings ⁵ which is especially useful on churches outside the town and has photographs of some which have since disappeared : and a book, in conjunction with Millet, on the wall paintings.⁶ The capitals and the sculptures of St. Sophia have been studied by J. Strzygowski ⁷ and M. Alpatov ⁸ respectively.

It must be emphasised that this article is only a supplement to those mentioned above and has no pretensions to rivalling any of them, except as to accuracy of surveying ; and practically all of the historical material has been gleaned from them.

Many travellers have passed through Trebizond in the course of the centuries and, of their accounts, those of Hamilton ⁹ and Lynch ¹⁰ are the most useful, Lynch's maps being especially valuable.

The founding of the Christian Church in Trebizond is traditionally assigned to St. Andrew ¹¹ and it is certainly highly probable that there was a Christian community there from an early date. Chrysanthos, the last Metropolitan of Trebizond, mentions that the Chrysocephalos was traditionally founded by Constantine.¹² It is certain that there were churches in the town in the time of Justinian, as Procopius mentions the repair of some " which had been damaged by the long passage of time " ¹³, but none survives from this period. Basil I (867-886) rebuilt many which had been damaged during the Iconoclastic troubles ; of these, only St. Anne is still standing and bears an inscription dating its rebuilding to 884/885.

As the capital of the theme of Chaldia, Trebizond had political importance, as well as the mercantile importance which came from its position as the seaport at the end of the long overland trade route from the East—a route which increased in importance when wars disrupted the shorter one to the Levantine ports. In the latter part of the 11th century it was recognised by Alexios I as a semi-independent State with Theodore Gabrâs at its head ; it was a bulwark against the Seljuk Turks as they gradually gained control of more and more of Asia Minor. And in 1204, in the same month that the Fourth Crusade sacked Constantinople, Alexios and David Comnenos, grandsons of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I, came from Georgia where they had been living at the court of their aunt, the great

⁵ D. Talbot Rice, " Religious Buildings of Trebizond," *Byzantion*, V, pp. 47 *et seq.*

⁶ Millet and Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond*, London, 1936.

⁷ J. Strzygowski, " Les Chapiteaux de Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde," *BCH.*, XIX, 1895, pp. 517-522.

⁸ M. Alpatov, " Reliefs de Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde," *Byzantion*, IV, pp. 410-18.

⁹ W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus and Armenia*, London, 1842, vol. I, pp. 159-162.

¹⁰ H. F. B. Lynch, *Armenia*, London, 1901, vol. I, pp. 8-36.

¹¹ W. Miller, *Trebizond*, London, 1926, p. 10.

¹² Χρυσάνθος, Ἀρχαῖον Πόντου, 4-5, Athens, 1933.

¹³ Procopius, *De Aed.*, 3, 7 ; P. de Tournefort, *Voyage du Levant*, Paris, 1717, Tome II, p. 234.

Queen Thamar, and took the city. They founded a dynasty that outlasted the Byzantine Empire itself by eight years, Trebizond finally falling to Mehmet II in 1461.

Many of the churches in the city were taken over as mosques at or shortly after the Turkish conquest, which has preserved them from destruction. Others which remained Christian until the exchange of Greek and Turkish populations in 1923 have since fallen into decay or been pulled down : it is much to be hoped that St. Anne, the oldest building in the city, will be saved by the Belediye and put into use as a museum depot.

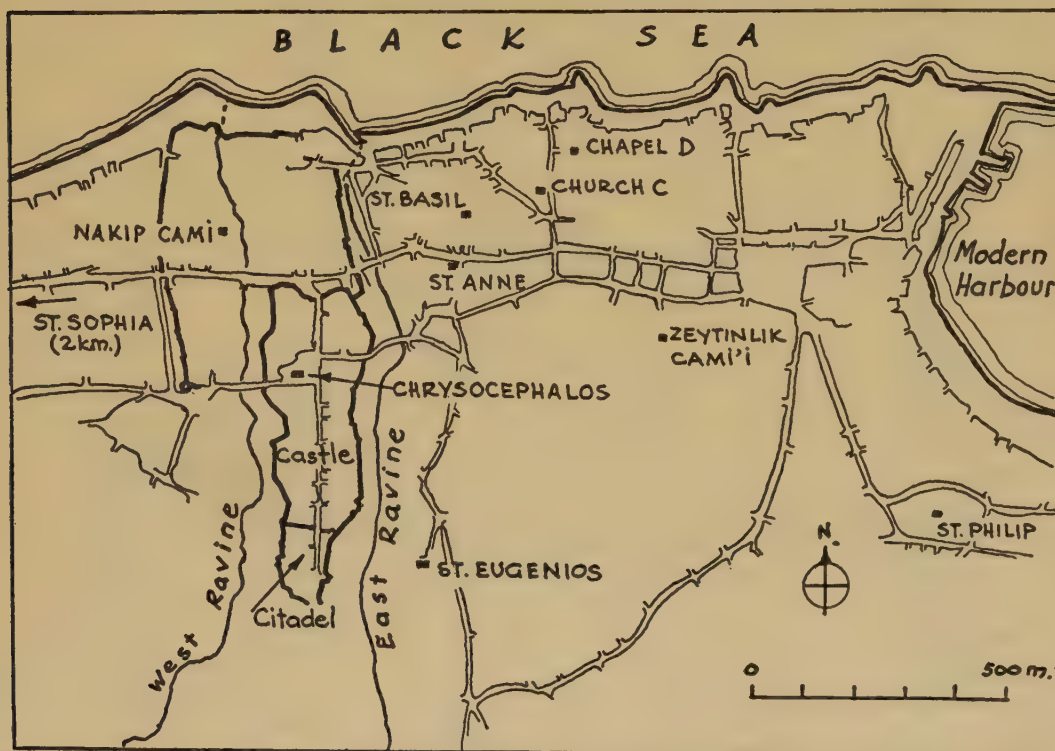


FIG. 1. Map of Trebizond.

In addition to the churches in the city, several have been included from the countryside round about : scores if not hundreds remain to be discovered, especially in the mountain valleys, but the task of finding them is immense (Mr. Winfield has started on it) and a large proportion of them would almost certainly turn out to be as late as the 17th, 18th or even the 19th century.

In the following description the individual churches are dealt with in alphabetical order : firstly, those in the city ; secondly, those outside. Professor Talbot Rice named two churches, both now gone, as Churches A and B : in order to avoid confusion I have continued with this in un-named buildings, i.e. Chapel D and Church C.

Throughout the plans one convention of hatching is observed : cross-hatching for the earliest parts, single hatching for the second period and

broken hatching for the latest period of each particular building. The Chrysocephalos and Kaymaklı are the only exceptions. Cave monasteries are omitted as they have so little medieval building : their interest lies in their wall-paintings.

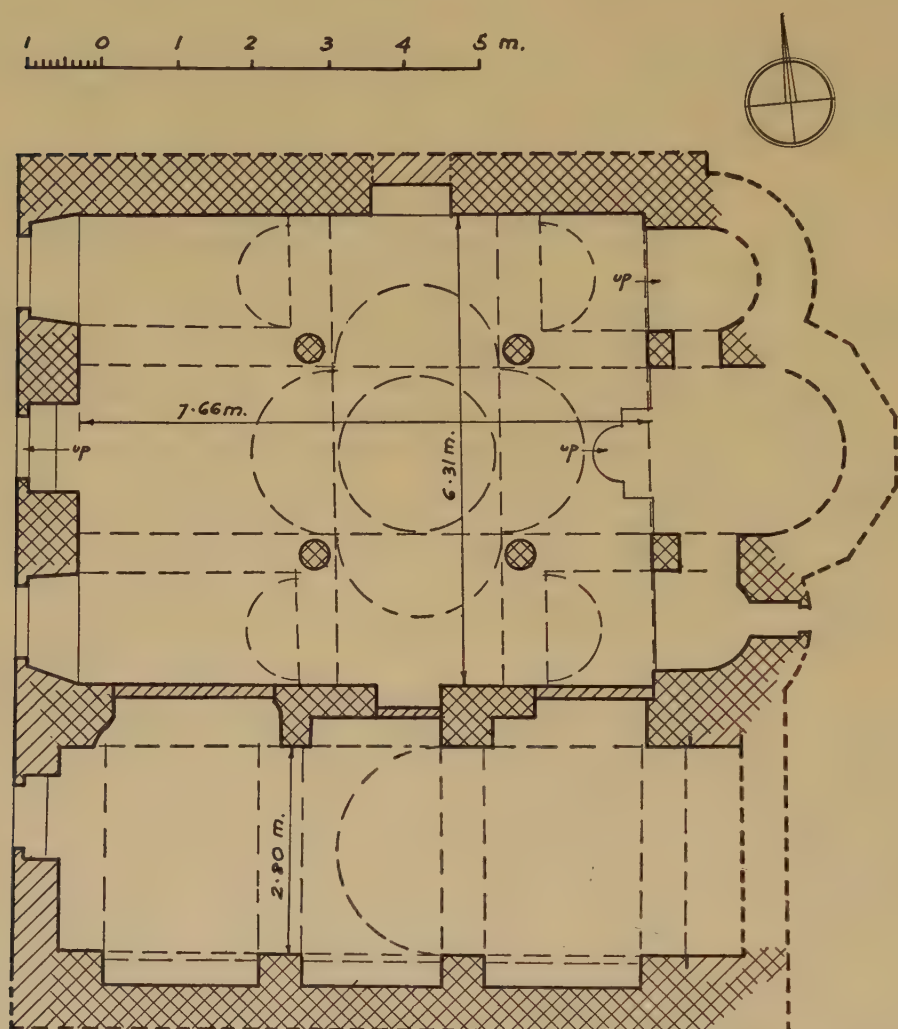


FIG. 2. Plan of Church C.

THE CHURCHES

The dating of the churches is extremely difficult. There is a paucity of written records and only one dated inscription on stone ¹⁴; probably there were many inscriptions on the frescoes—several were seen in the last

¹⁴ Millet gives many other inscriptions in an article "Inscriptions Byzantines de Trébizonde", *BCH.*, XX, 1896, pp. 496-501, and in the article mentioned in note 3, but none is relevant to the dating of the churches.

century—but even those would not necessarily help with dating the building as such, except as a *terminus ante quem*. Comparisons with churches elsewhere can of course be helpful, but there do not appear to be any sufficiently close parallels to offer dating evidence more exact than a century or two either way.

The date, within about fifty years, of St. Sophia is reasonably certain ; the last phase of St. Eugenios is almost certainly post-1340. St. Philip has certain minor decorative features in common with both of these : St. Anne was rebuilt in 885 ; and apart from that we know virtually nothing. Thus absolute dating has very little to go on : but even relative dating of parts



FIG. 3. Section of Church C, looking west.

within any given church is complicated by the fact that such useful indications as straight joints, blocked doors and windows and additions to walls are frequently hidden by plaster or at best by several layers of whitewash, externally as well as internally.

CHURCH C. Plan and section, Figs. 2 and 3. Pl. XVIa.

This church is included because, though it may well be as late as the 18th century, there is just a possibility that it is Byzantine. It has lost its east wall and dome : and most of the west wall has been rebuilt, probably in the 19th century. The purpose of the chamber to the south is obscure and there is nothing to show whether it is earlier or later than, or contemporary with, the church itself. Possibly the two wide openings between the two, which are arched and are relatively low, were for tombs.

An interesting point about the plan is the strong local basilical tradition

evident in the barrel-vaulting, not cross-vaulting, of the corner bays and in their being rectangular rather than square.

The columns and capitals are built up of brick and masonry and plastered ; and all mouldings are of plaster.

THE CHRYSOCEPHALOS. Plan, Fig. 4.

The cathedral of Trebizond, known as the church of the Golden-headed Virgin, was originally attached to a monastery ; it is the only building surviving within the castle walls which is known to have been a church, and was converted into a mosque when the Turks took the city in 1461.

Only the ground floor plan is shown here : the key to the gallery stairs was mysteriously lost, so no survey could be done of the upper floor,¹⁵ comprising galleries over aisles, narthex and exo-narthex and rooms over the additions on the north-east ; nor could a section be attempted. Hence this is not a full description of all parts of the church. Possibly there are clues to be found in the upper storey which would help to solve some of the problems, both those connected with the curious combination of elements of the plan and those of dating, relative to each other, the different parts of the building.

The plan is unusual in several respects. Though strongly basilical in character, it has a dome, and transepts open from floor to vault running north and south to the outer walls ; the aisles, like the nave, are barrel-vaulted, with ribs, but have galleries over them, even over the eastern bays which are cut off from the rest by the transepts : and the vaults of the aisle bays on the ground floor span at right-angles to those of the nave and the galleries.

Galleried aisles are not common in basilicas and, as will be seen below, it is very probable that this church was originally a basilica : but in some of the Armenian churches with a more basilical than centralised plan, e.g. Pitzounda,¹⁶ there are galleries. The arrangement of the vaults of the ground-floor aisles has very few parallels : it occurs at Bin-bir-kilise Nos. 1 and 6, but in both cases the vaults have been inserted later : Radauti, Moldavia,¹⁷ is another example, but too late (15th century) to have exercised an influence here.

The exo-narthex is unique in Trebizond though not unknown elsewhere : but the addition of the large north doorway and porch—itself a normal feature in the city—is curious in a church with such a strong east-west axis.

Unlike the other three-aisled churches in Trebizond, the Chrysocephalos had only one apse—the small south apse is of very rough construction and much later—which is, however, typical of the local style in

¹⁵ Baklanov's sketch plans are of some use here, but are to a minute scale.

¹⁶ Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, London, 1867, p. 337.

¹⁷ Ramsay and Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches*, London, 1909, pp. 45 and 73 ; P. Henry, *Les Églises de la Moldavie du Nord*, Paris, 1930.

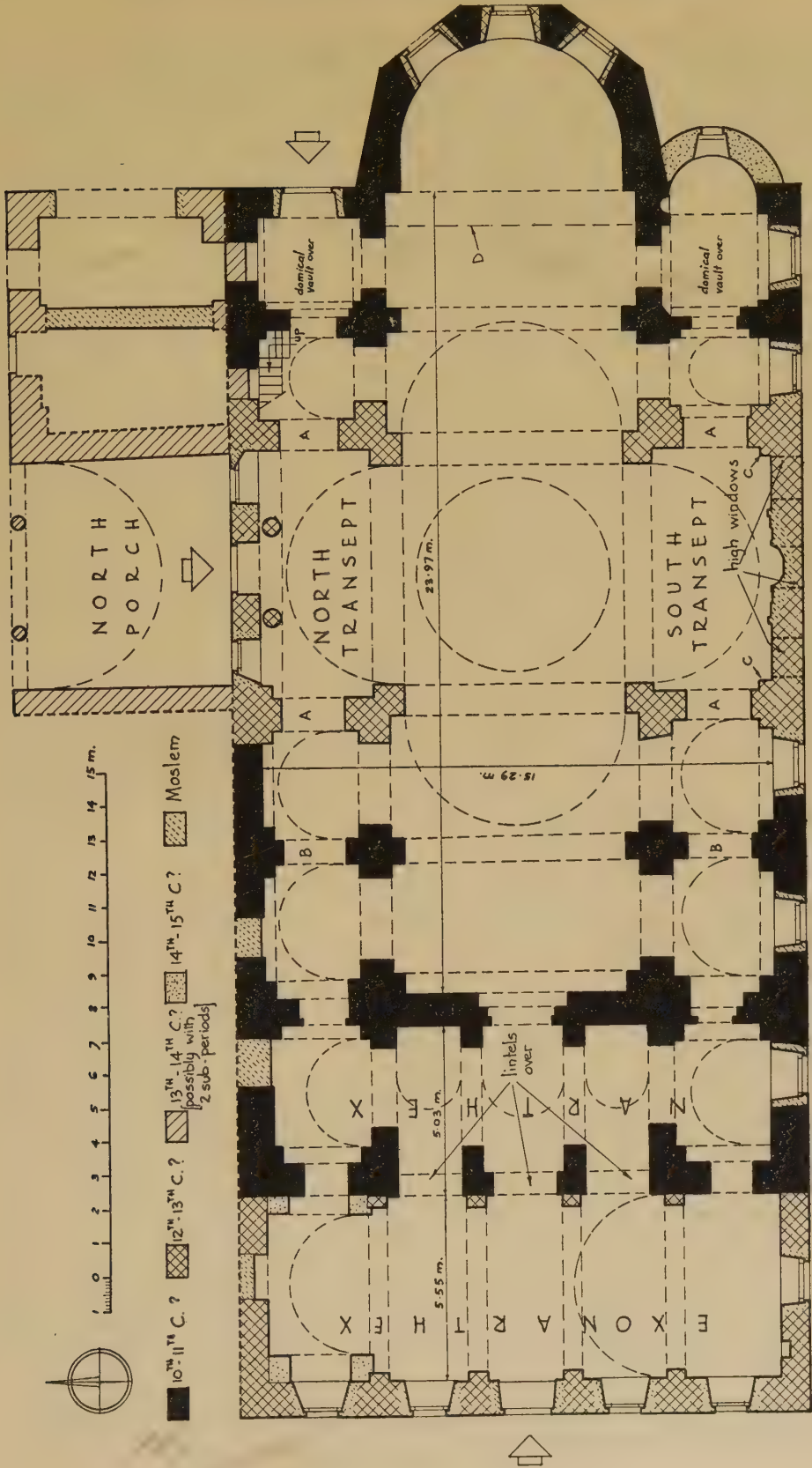


FIG. 4. Plan of the Chrysocephalos.

being five-sided and of finer masonry than the rest of the church, though the top 2 m. or so is not so well built. The prothesis and diaconicon are thus simply the east bay of north and south aisle respectively, but are given a special treatment with domical vaults (the only examples in Trebizond) and by being shut off from the rest of the aisles by doorways, that of the south aisle having a fine moulded surround with a length of classical cornice over it, carved with key ornament, egg-and-dart and palmettes.¹⁸

Access to the small first-floor rooms east of the transept is gained, in the case of the north transept, by means of a ledge about 1 m. wide supported on the arcade of classical columns with Ionic capitals which flanks the north doorway. (The modern staircase cuts into this ledge and makes it even narrower at its east end.) The south transept must have had a timber gallery across it, against the outer wall, as there are corbels in the right positions for beams, and the lintel of a doorway, now blocked, can be seen in the east wall of the transept (see Pl. XVIc, arrows). At the outer angles of the south transept there are nibs (C on plan and Pl. XVIc), like those from which the blind arcading of the aisle outer walls springs, but amputated 4.50 m. above the floor : possibly they originally carried up and round the transept vault and were cut down if the windows were at one time enlarged, or perhaps the nibs were for the support of the timber gallery. A further point of interest is the small window or door at first-floor level looking out into the bema from the small chamber to the east of the south transept.

The north and south bays of the narthex have thicker walls than the rest : just possibly there were stairs to the galleries here, though they would not have fitted in very satisfactorily, and if they were of masonry it is curious that they should have disappeared, and if of timber there would have been no necessity for thicker walls. Alternatively, there may have been towers here, though they are unusual outside Syria.

The function of the additions at the north-east is obscure but probably they were part of the monastery complex. They have been altered in Turkish times. All the lower windows of the church are Turkish, except those in the apse, which are almost certainly Byzantine, though late insertions : the inner sides may, however, have been widened by the Turks.

The dome drum is twelve-sided. Internally there is a gallery formed by setting back the drum from the pendentive ring, which itself has been built forward (see Pl. XVIIa). Externally the windows are set back in larger arcaded recesses. All the roofs, except those of some of the lower parts on the north, are of metal—formerly they were copper but now are lead—on an even, low pitch : it seems probable that originally, on the apse at least, the form of the vault was followed (see pp. 173-4).

Other points of interest are the small round windows high up in the south transept ; the re-used classical columns with Ionic capitals in the north porch (as well as those at the north doorway) ; the pierced marble or stone slabs in the tympanum over the porch arcade (Pl. XVIb) ; the marble

¹⁸ Professor Talbot Rice considers that it was moved to this position by the Moslems, perhaps from a south door now blocked.

opus sectile on the north and south walls of the bema and the interior of the apse ; and the moulded door surrounds, almost certainly re-used earlier ones, at the west ends of the nave and aisles. There is said to be an *opus sectile* floor under the existing timber floor of the apse ; and there are wall-paintings hidden by whitewash, probably on most of the internal surfaces : some were seen in 1916¹⁹ ; in the 19th century traces of mosaics were still visible on the exterior.²⁰ The lintel of the north doorway has part of a Hadrianic inscription on it.

The dating of any part of the church is very difficult. The only evidence, other than stylistic, is the report²¹ of a plaque (since lost) bearing the date 914, which was found under the floor of the present building during repairs in 1877: it is said to have been built into the apse of the then existing church by the Metropolitan Basil when restoring the episcopal throne in 914.

Thus the present fabric is probably later than 914 : but Chrysanthos²² quotes a dedication hymn preserved in Libadenus, sung at the rebuilding of the cathedral when Acacius was Metropolitan, after the great damage done to the town in 1341 when the Hamidoğulları set fire to it. But it is almost inconceivable that the plan and general form of the church date from that time : in its positively grim exterior appearance it certainly looks older than St. Sophia and St. Eugenios, and though there is a great feeling of solidity, dignity and simplicity in the interior, it has none of the sophistication of St. Sophia. The single apse in a three-aisled church was common enough in the early churches but is most unusual later than, say, the 8th century (except possibly in Lycaonia).

It may be significant that this church, and the 9th-century St. Anne, are the only ones in the city which are accurately laid out, with all the corners right-angles and the walls parallel. On stylistic grounds a date in the 10th or perhaps 11th century seems reasonable for the basilical layout, with the dome perhaps 12th century (see below), but it is difficult to see how this can be reconciled with the evidence of the rededication hymn of the mid-14th century.

The church must have been considerably altered at different times. N. Baklanov, who studied it in 1917,²³ while almost certainly right in thinking that it was originally a basilica, was not radical enough—his theory being that all the piers as they stand were part of the original church and that one in each arcade was removed, with of course the galleries and vaulting of the two bays involved, to form the transepts. The curious form of the dome piers would then be due simply to the addition of some masonry on the inner angles to reduce the span of the nave bay. But facts do not

¹⁹ Millet, *op. cit.*, in note 3, p. 458, quotes Marengo in *Missions Catholiques*, XI, p. 303 ; Baklanov, *op. cit.*, in note 4, p. 388. More were seen in 1959.

²⁰ Rice, *op. cit.*, in note 5, quotes Fallmerayer, *Originalfragmente*, München, 1843, I, p. 120.

²¹ Marengo, see note 19.

²² Chrysanthos, *op. cit.*, in note 12, p. 245.

²³ *op. cit.*, in note 4.

quite bear out this theory. The dome piers are not, as can be seen on the plan (Fig. 4), cross-shaped ones with something added—much masonry would also have had to be cut away, a senseless proceeding ; the transept is 80 cm. more than twice the width of a nave bay ; the ribs (A on plan) springing across the aisles from the dome piers 20 cm. broader than those further west (B on plan), presumably for the purpose of taking greater thrust. Hence it seems certain that transepts, dome piers entire and dome must all be contemporary. The reasons for believing that the whole church does not date from the same time are firstly, that it would be extraordinary to build a galleried church with such inconvenient access to the parts of the gallery east of the transepts—these small rooms must surely be witness to a basilican plan ; second, that there is an indication of an earlier and lower vault to the nave in the extra “step” in the vaulting of the bema (D on plan, and see Pl. XVIIa), which is semicircular, like the apse conch and unlike all the ribs of the nave and crossing, which are slightly pointed. Bearing out this is the fact that the cornice in the apse and eastern part of the bema gives way to a simpler coarser one, which is used in the rest of the nave, at the same point on the plan. Thus those parts of the present church which belong to the earliest period are the apse (but the existing windows are later) and all the structural walls of nave and aisles up to the earlier vault spring level, slightly lower than the present one. The narthex almost certainly belongs to this earlier period ; the exonarthex must be later, because of the treatment as an important entrance of the three narrow central bays of the narthex, whose vaults spanning north-south give a strong directional axis towards the door of the nave and which have lintels with dentil mouldings instead of arches at the west. This treatment would surely never have been lavished on what, with the exonarthex built, are simply intermediate bays on the way into the church. And the thick walls of the north and south bays, whether or not they were for towers, must also surely have been originally on the outer face of the church. At what period the exonarthex was built cannot at the moment be determined, but quite possibly it is of the same date as the crossing.

The additions at the north-east are later than the transepts and are probably 13th century, judging by a window with mouldings of the St. Sophia type over it : the north porch is probably latest of all, unless the south apse is later still : judging by other churches in the town, north porches became the fashion in the late 13th or 14th century. The absolute dating of the different periods is very difficult and nothing is certain. It is just possible, but on the whole unlikely, that the great reconstruction involving the insertion of the dome belongs to the period commemorated in the rededication hymn, 1340-50 : unlikely, because one would not expect major innovations to the cathedral at as late a date as that, particularly as the Empire (and therefore presumably the revenue) was shrinking as the Turks came closer and closer, and because it only leaves a century for three later periods of additions, of which the middle one—the north porch—is of careful design and workmanship. Only the south apse is of the roughness one might well expect in the last years of the Empire's life. The dome and

the crossing are more likely to date from either the beginning of the Comnene period, i.e. early 13th century, or from the century before.

This 12th-century date seems the best guess in our present state of knowledge: while the interior has a strong resemblance to St. Eugenios, the exterior of the drum is simple to the point of grimness and has none of the refinements of mouldings which the Comnene churches show, either there or over the apse windows. It is more probable that St. Sophia and St. Eugenios followed the Chrysocephalos in the way the drum is set back from the pendentive ring and the pendentives themselves brought forward, rather than the other way round.

The history of the church can be tentatively reconstructed thus:—

- (1) An early church or churches on the site, of dates unknown: bishop's throne repaired in 914.
- (2) A basilica, comprising the present building from apse to narthex, with six bays to nave and aisles, galleries over aisles, and narthex. 10th or 11th century.
- (3) Major reconstruction, involving raising the vault and inserting crossing and dome: exonarthex perhaps of this period. 12th century.
- (4) Additions on north-east. 13th century.
- (5) North porch. Late 13th or 14th century. Possibly apse windows enlarged at this time.
- (6) South apse. 14th or 15th century.

And there was Acacius' reconstruction in 1340–50. But all remains uncertain. There is probably enough evidence hidden under plaster to solve most of the problems, but whether it will ever be possible to study it is another matter.

CHAPEL D. Plan and section, Fig. 5.

This building, hitherto unrecorded, stands in a high-walled garden and its small size indicates that it was probably a private chapel. The vault is

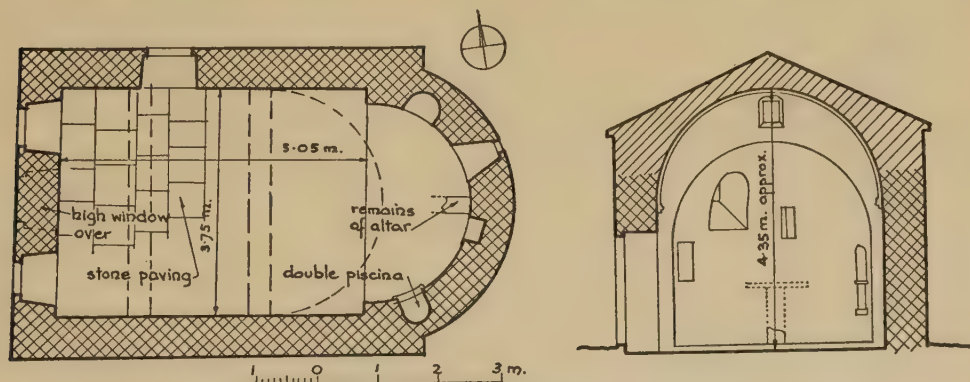


FIG. 5. Plan, and section looking east, of Chapel D.

later than the walls and a raking joint on the west wall shows that it originally had a timber roof. The large west windows and the tiny one over the apse

arch belong to the second, post-Byzantine period, but the walls are of similar masonry to Comnene period buildings. The two-storey niche, and the apse window being so markedly off-centre, are curious features.

NAKIP CAMI. Plan, Fig. 6 ; section, Fig. 7.

Converted into a mosque centuries ago, probably fairly soon after the Turkish conquest, the Christian dedication of this church has been lost. But in a map of Trebizond published in "Relation d'un voyage en Orient,

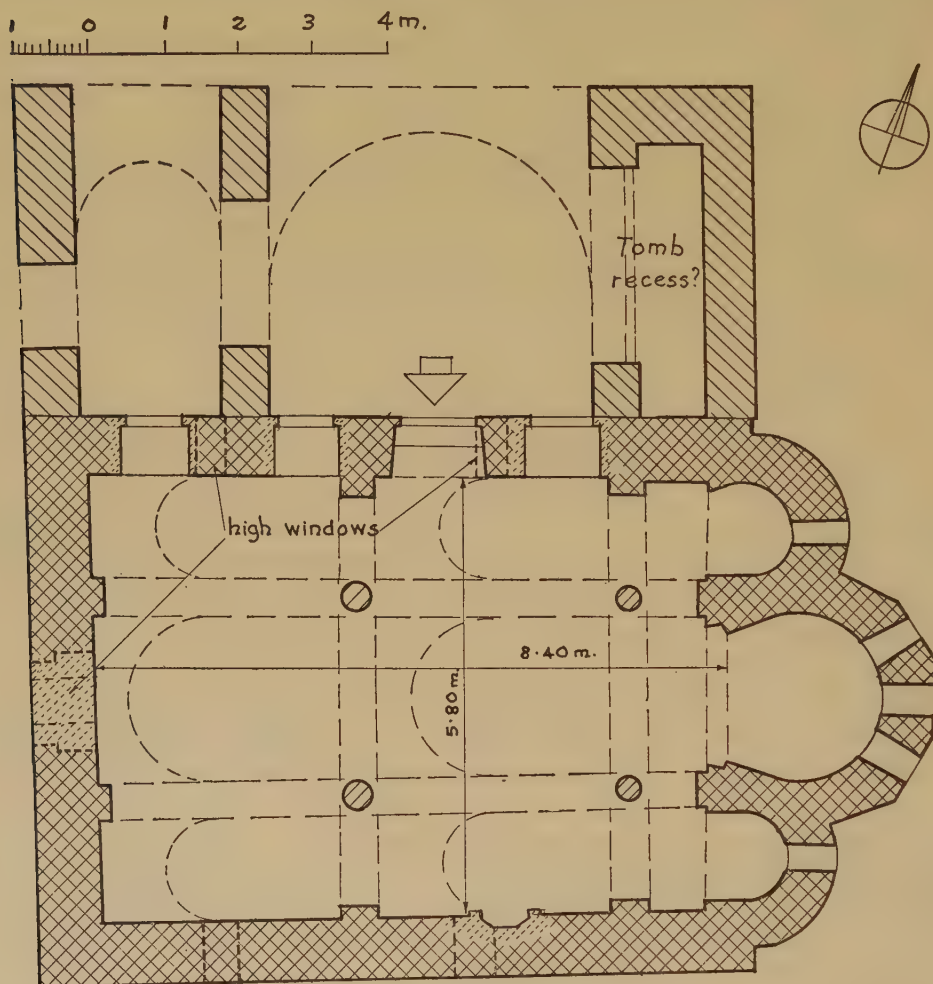


FIG. 6. Plan of Nakip Cami.

1604-1612", by Julien Bordier,^{23a} it appears that it may have been the church of St. Andrew : as Bordier has twisted the town through nearly a right-angle in relation to the ravines and sea-shore, it is not possible to be certain, but the church of "St. Andray", noted as being at that time a

^{23a} See below, note 42.

mosque, is in the right position with reference to the west ravine, the walls and the gate to the harbour.

This is the only surviving example in the town of the Anatolian barn-church, but it differs from the typical plateau church in several respects. There is no narthex, though it has a north porch which is a later addition ; it has three apses, horseshoe in plan internally but with the central one polygonal externally and the side ones rounded. The arcades have a most curious lopsided stilt due to the west pair of columns being 75 cm. taller than the east pair (Pl. XVIIc) : as all the columns are reused and three of the capitals are inverted bases, this was probably due to materials available rather than to any aesthetic conception. Large blocks of masonry which are

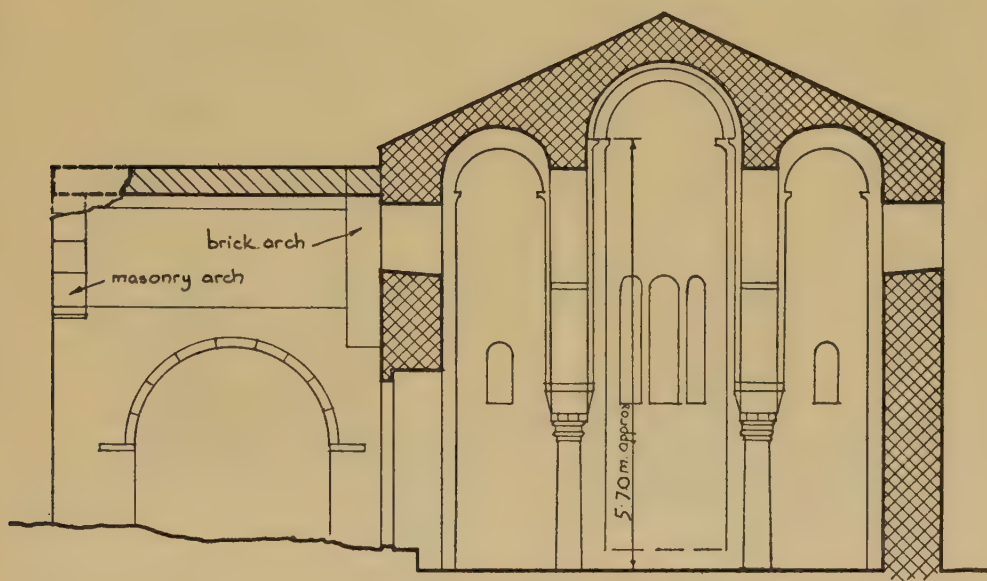


FIG. 7. Section of Nakip Cami, looking east.

almost certainly of the classical period are used in the apses, which are of good masonry except for the top 1.50 m., which is much rougher ; the rest of the walls are of smaller blocks with liberal use of mortar and the vaults are of mortared rubble, though the lower part of the porch vault is of brick. All the arches are of brick, including those over the original windows.

There are still traces of frescoes in the main apse ; and in 1929 Professor Talbot Rice ²⁴ was able to see considerably more, including some on the exterior of the church : he tentatively assigned them to the 15th century, though he points out that if the church became a mosque soon after the conquest, they must be earlier than 1461. The church itself must be considerably older : since it was clearly a humble one but even so had access to classical fragments, the supply of which must eventually have given out, it is probably reasonable to hazard a guess at the 10th or 11th century. Professor Talbot Rice considers it 11th century. It is now a very dirty ruin.

²⁴ Rice, *op. cit.*, in note 5, p. 113.

ST. ANNE. Plan and section, Figs. 8 and 9.

By what chance of history this church was allowed to remain a place of Christian worship is unknown, but it was in use until 1923, even though in an old quarter of the town and not far outside the fortified area. It is certainly the oldest church, having an inscription in Greek on a battered relief over the door, which states that the church was rebuilt in 884-5.²⁵ It is known that the Emperor Basil the Macedonian had many churches

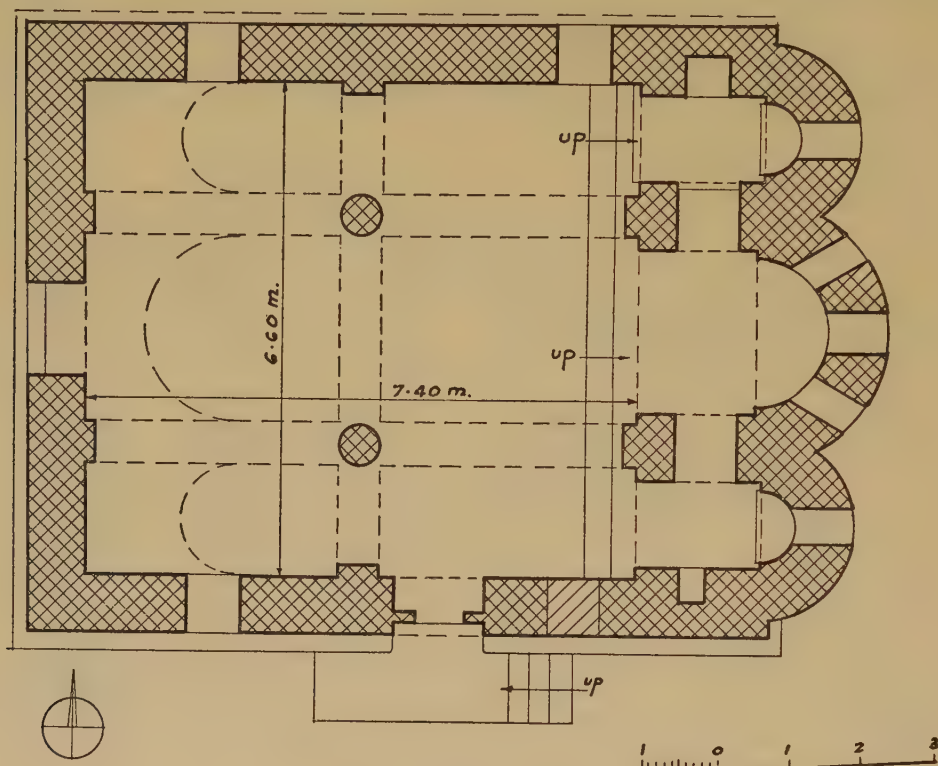


FIG. 8. Plan of St. Anne.

repaired, in Constantinople and elsewhere, which had suffered during the iconoclastic period and Millet considered that St. Anne may well have been one of them. How far the earlier plan was followed it is impossible to say : but as the masonry, including that of the apses, is all of one type it appears that it was rebuilt completely.

It is the only Trapezuntine church to have a clerestory, which is not commonly used with barrel-vaults in any area, though examples occur in Anatolia, Georgia, Greece and elsewhere. It seems that the ground level round the building must have dropped since the church was built, as the walls of the crypt²⁶ are very rough and project beyond the face of the walls above—presumably they were originally below ground. Millet²⁷ says that

²⁵ Millet, *op. cit.*, in note 5, p. 23.

²⁶ The church of the Panaghia Evangelistria and Church A, both now destroyed, also had crypts.

²⁷ Millet, *op. cit.*, in note 3, p. 443.

there clearly was a narthex but there is no sign of it now : the outer face of the west wall gives no indication of there having been any further structure there. The present ground-floor window in that wall was certainly formerly a door (Pl. XVIIIa).

The columns supporting the arcade are classical, with very shallow bases : the capitals (Pl. XVIIIb) are Ionic, with curious impost blocks with

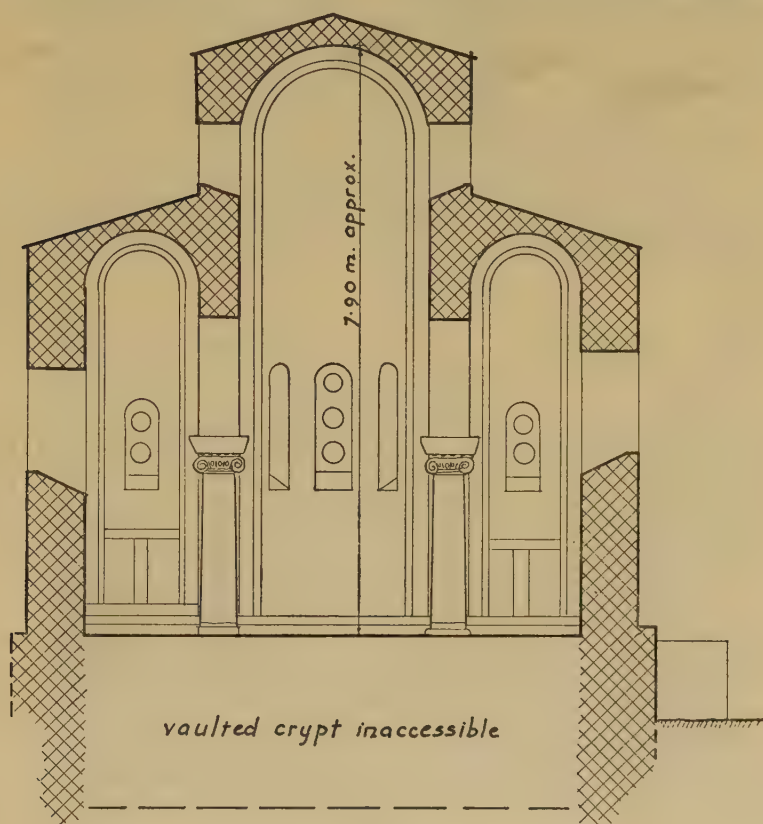


FIG. 9. Section of St. Anne, looking east.

a form of dentil on them. All arches, including those over the window and those of the crypt (the latter visible through a hole in the floor), are of brick. The medieval pierced stone window-slabs remain, as do the semicircular stone altars on one support. In the relieving arch over the south door, above the relief already mentioned, there are several small stones carved with curlicue crosses and other motifs : they are very like some at the Armenian monastery of Kaymaklı (see p. 169) and must have been inserted at some later date.

Few traces of fresco remain visible, due as much to dirt and smoke as to destruction : there were indications as late as 1929 that the exterior as well as the interior had many paintings.

ST. BASIL. Plan, Fig. 10.

The main part of this church as it stands may be of late Comnene period, i.e. 15th century : or it may date from after the Turkish conquest,

reusing materials from an earlier church. The western bay of the nave and the narthex with gallery over were built in the years 1890–95²⁸: and a stone in the north wall testifies to repairs to the older part in 1867.

The masonry of the earlier part is composed of large, closely jointed blocks, very like that of the apses of the churches of the Commene period: but instead of being confined to the apses, it is used for the walls of the body of the church as well (Pl. XVIIIc). The windows in the apses, and the high-level ones in the transepts, are of the usual medieval shape: and a band of moulding runs over and between the windows of main apse and of dome

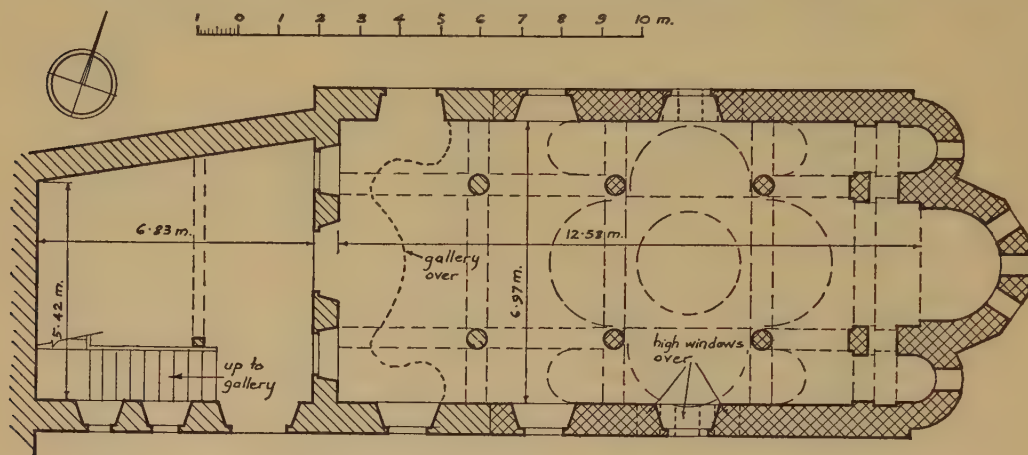


FIG. 10. Plan of St. Basil.

drum, just as it does in, for instance, St. Philip, though with a less sure handling. The use of barrel-vaults throughout, and the long west bay, are typical Trapezuntine features. Inside, the columns are reused late classical or early Byzantine ones and three of the "capitals" are in fact early Byzantine bases. There is a local tradition that all these came from another church somewhere along the coast to the west. The lintel over the door from narthex to church is also a reused earlier fragment: beneath a frieze of swags and putti there is an inscription of A.D. 542 (*CIG.*, IV, 8637). Chrysanthos records that there was a portrait of Justinian on horseback in the church.

ST. EUGENIOS. Plan, Fig. 11; section, Fig. 12.

As St. Eugenios was the patron saint of Trebizond the church and monastery dedicated to him must always have been of more than average importance and it is, in fact, known to have been rich. Its position on the ridge to the east of the East Ravine meant that it tended to get sacked by any invading army that reached the city but failed to take it. In 1222 the Turks got possession of the monastery and destroyed or severely damaged it; and it was burnt down during a civil war in 1340. When Mehmet II finally took Trebizond in 1461 he first said his prayers in this church, which is therefore known as *Yeni Cuma Cami'i* (New Friday Mosque).

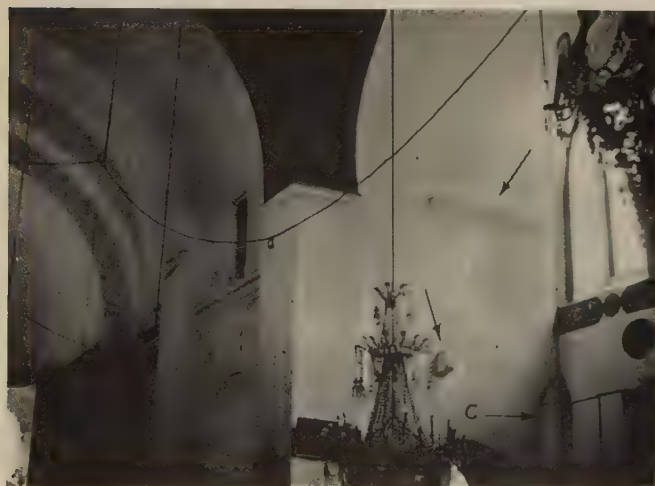
²⁸ Chrysanthos, *op. cit.*, in note 12, p. 439.



(a) Church C, interior looking west.



(b) Chrysocephalos, north porch.



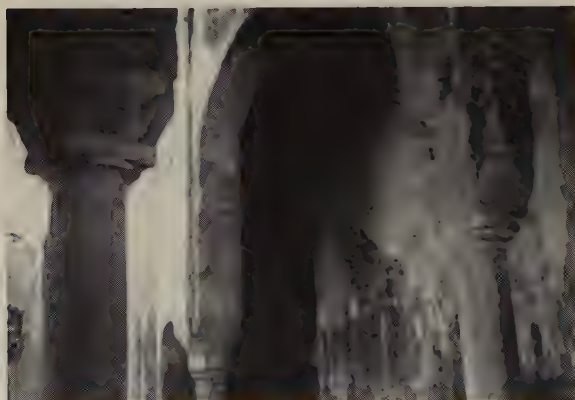
(c) Chrysocephalos, east wall of south transept.



(a) Chryscephalos, interior looking east



(b) Chryscephalos, exterior from south-east



(c) Nakıp Cami'i, interior looking south-east.



(a) St. Anne, exterior from south-west.



(c) St. Basil, south elevation.



(b) St. Anne, capital and column.



(a) St. Eugenios from the south-east.



(b) St. Eugenios, interior looking west, upper part.



(c) St. Eugenios, interior looking west, lower part.



(a) St. Philip, part of west wall showing blocked opening.



(b) St. Philip, interior looking east.



(a) St. Sophia from the north-west.



(b) St. Michael, Akçaabat, from the south.



(a) Kaynaklı Monastery, apse of church and monastic buildings from the north-east.



(b) Kaynaklı Monastery, conch of church apse.



(c) Apse of church at Orta Mahalle, Akçaabat.

Baklanov recognised the most important point about the plan of the church, which is that it has been radically redesigned, having been originally a basilica. Along the north wall there are two engaged responding pilasters with no piers with which to respond, whereas the third or easternmost matches up perfectly with the cross-shaped pier of the north nave arcade. On the south wall there are only two pilasters, the central one having gone in the forming of the mihrab, but they match up with those of the north wall; strangely, they have no side nibs, as the north wall ones have, for

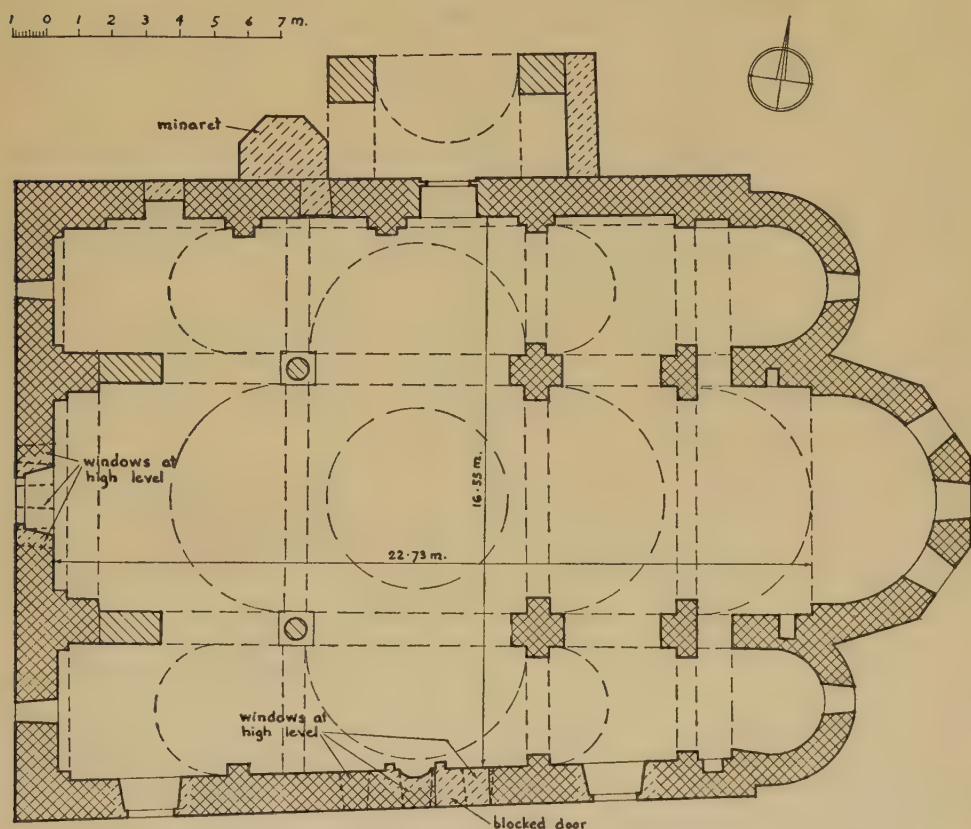


FIG. 11. Plan of St. Eugenios.

blind arcading. It seems certain that originally there were three cross-shaped piers in each nave arcade and, by analogy with other Trapezuntine churches, probably barrel-vaults over all the aisles.

The easternmost piers then were left and two more were built to carry a dome. These two western piers are really remarkable (Fig. 12): the upper third of each is part of a "Doric" column, built up of masonry and plastered, with twenty facets (not flutes), and the lower two-thirds an ordinary square masonry pier. The capitals are inverted Ionic bases with unconventional impost blocks above. The result is peculiar and hamhanded but, in fact, not as offensive as one might expect (see Pl. XIX*b* and *c*).

The builders perhaps did not want the dome bay and that west of it to

vie with each other, for they have brought out a long nib of masonry from each of the responds on the west wall to reduce the span of the arches west of the dome. Or perhaps they did not want them to rise very much higher than those east of the dome, which are presumably original : these are surprisingly low considering the height of the aisles, but very much the same proportion as those in the Chrysocephalos (though without any evidence for a gallery). Barrel-vaults were built, running north and south from the



FIG. 12. Section of St. Eugenios, looking north.

dome bay to the outer walls, the final plan thus approximating to the cross-in-square type.

The north porch is an addition, but still Byzantine ; it has several fragments of carving built into it, that over the door being the same as that over the blocked south door.

The south windows are Moslem, as is the central west one ; the latter is said by Baklanov to replace the original central door and he also states that, according to Texier, there was a narthex. Fallmerayer, early in the 19th century, saw ²⁹ frescoes on the outside of the west wall depicting the Emperors of Trebizond from Alexios I (1204-22) to Alexios III (1349-90).

The south apse is slightly horseshoe in plan and has a brick cornice externally where the other parts of the building have stone cornices of various profiles ; it may therefore be of a different period or may owe its cornice to repairs. The main apse has a cornice of Byzantine carving : most of it is of the same design as the lintels over north and south doors, but in addition there are two crosses and some other motifs. The irregularity of

²⁹ Rice, *op. cit.*, in note 5, p. 54, quotes Fallmerayer, *Originalfragmente*, I, p. 125.

the placing of the crosses shows that the stones are reused, perhaps from an earlier church. The masonry of the apses is good, with mouldings round the heads of and between the windows ; the rest of the masonry is, as usual, rougher. The dome drum is particularly attractive (Pl. XIXa) with sixteen sides and windows, the latter being deeply inset and with a moulding round the head of the arches and linking them. The drum is set in an unusual manner in that the axes of the church pass not through a window but through a pier of masonry. Internally it stands some 60–70 cm. back from the pendentives, with a railing round the gallery thus formed.

Frescoes were visible internally in Baklanov's time as well as those in the narthex already mentioned and some on the outside of the apse, which had by then disappeared ; and there is an *opus sectile* pavement seen by Marengo but now covered. This bears a date 1291 and a fragment of stone with the same date, possibly from a tomb, is mentioned by Millet. The pavement has apparently been twice repaired since then.³⁰ The monastery is known to have existed in 1223 ; so the first period of the church may be earlier than that and bearing in mind its resemblances to the Chrysocephalos—cross-shaped piers, low nave arcades—it probably was. Another point in favour is that every known church (except for one small one, now destroyed) of the Comnene period has a dome and the original St. Eugenios could not have done so, since the proportions of its bays are wrong.

The rebuilding in its present form is likely to have taken place either in 1291 or after the catastrophe of 1340. It may be coincidence that the former date appears twice ; if the pavement were visible its extent might indicate to which period of the church it belonged. The fire of 1340 must have necessitated a lot of repair or rebuilding and perhaps it is most logical to believe that the fabric of the church we see to-day is chiefly mid-14th century, though that does not prove that its plan had not already been altered half a century earlier.

ST. PHILIP. Plan, Fig. 13 ; section, Fig. 14. Pl. XXb.

Possibly because it was well outside the main part of the town the church of St. Philip was not converted into a mosque at the Turkish conquest, but became the Christian cathedral, the Chrysocephalos having been taken over by Islam at once ; but in 1665 the same fate overtook St. Philip's.³¹

The original church consisted of the polygonal apse, domed naos and short western bay. The single bay and single apse church must, it would seem, have been most inconvenient for the Greek rite, in which, after the early centuries, prothesis and diaconicon were used ; hence it is not a usual plan in late times and its continuance in this area may be another example of great conservatism. There was a door in the north wall of the naos and

³⁰ Rice, *op. cit.*, in note 5, p. 54, quotes Minzlov, *The Epic of Trebizond* (in Russian), Berlin, c. 1922.

³¹ Rice, *op. cit.*, in note 5, quotes Κυριακίδου, *Ἱστορία τῆς μονῆς τῆς Σουμέλας*, Athens, 1898, pp. 90 f.

the west bay may have had entrances in south or west walls, or in both. When the church became the cathedral, the large western arm was added : it had a south door, either a door or window in the north wall and an open arcade of three arches at the west. The upper part of the centre of these survives as a window, complete with its capitals, half walled in ; the curve of the other two, which were lower, can be made out on the external face, though it is not easy to bring this out in a photograph. The superior masonry of the southern end of the wall can be seen clearly in Pl. XXa and the sharp line where it ends marks the beginning of the arcade : the carved stone just north of this point must have come from elsewhere and been built

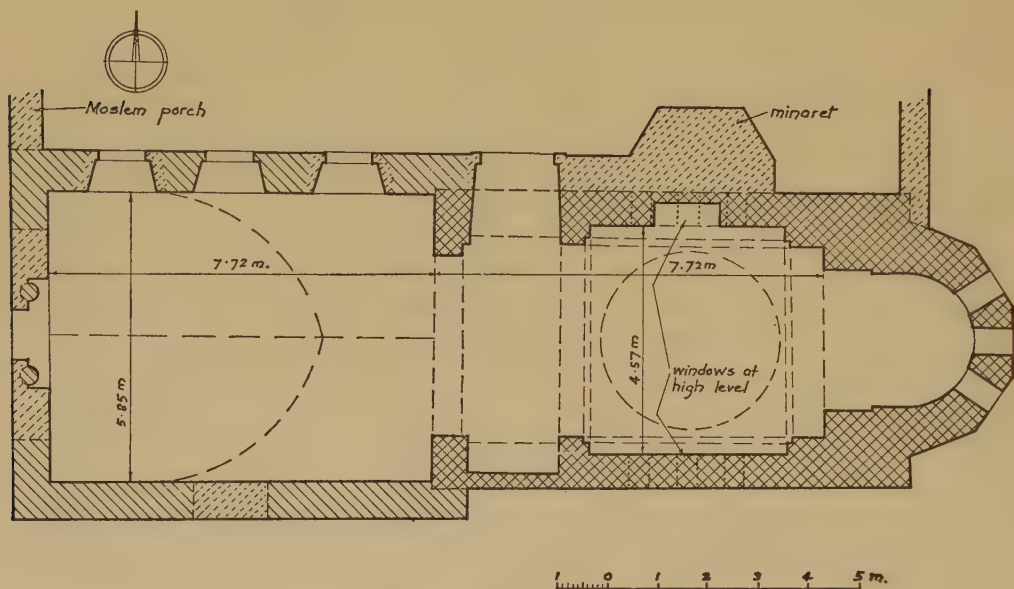


FIG. 13. Plan of St. Philip.

in in the blocking ; the larger ones higher up are symmetrically placed and may be contemporary with the arcade, though they seem to come so close to the openings that they must have cut into the voussoirs. The south wall of the western addition is also of good masonry as high as the spring of the vault ; the masonry of the north wall cannot be seen as it is inside the immense Moslem porch and has been plastered over, but it retains a carved cornice at vault spring level.

The apse is of good close-jointed masonry, with mouldings over and between the windows ; from what one can see of the other walls of the original church, they are of the usual rougher type of masonry. The dome drum is twelve-sided ; it has a cornice rather like those of St. Eugenios and St. Sophia, but the moulding linking the heads of the windows is a simple rounded one with a curious knot motif at the arch springing.

The interior is very plain now, though in Byzantine times it doubtless was covered with frescoes. The capitals in the west wall are an odd pair : the south one has Moslem-type "stalactite" decoration but is no more curious in a Christian church than some of the decoration at St. Sophia ;

the north one is hard to make out but Professor Talbot Rice, who saw it less smothered in whitewash than it is now, thought that the carving represented single-headed eagles, the Comnene emblem (as opposed to the double-headed eagles of the Palaeologue Emperors in Constantinople). These



FIG. 14. Section of St. Philip, looking north.

capitals, and the zigzag archivolt moulding, may well have been brought here from another Byzantine building.

Millet dated this church to the thirteenth century but Chrysanthos states that traditionally it was founded by Anna, daughter of Alexios III who ruled 1349-90.

ST. SOPHIA. Plan, Fig. 15. Pl. XXIa.

Though this is one of the most interesting and probably the most attractive of the Trapezuntine churches, it will only be described briefly here, as it will be fully discussed from an architectural viewpoint in a full publication which the Russell Trust Expedition intends to bring out after the work of cleaning the wall paintings is complete.

The basic plan as it stands approximates to a cross-in-square, with columns supporting the dome, the east bays of the aisles barrel-vaulted and the longer west bays cross-vaulted. It is probable that the plan was somewhat altered during the course of construction, as the ribs of the arches springing from the columns do not marry up tidily with the pilasters on the walls and to the west of the north door rib and pilaster scarcely coincide at all. The narthex is an unusual feature in Trebizond and for the three great porches it is hard to find a parallel anywhere; though the 12th-century Georgian churches at Gelati, Manglis and Akhtala all have one or more

large porches and at Pitzounda (9th or 10th century), in Armenia, there are fair-sized examples both on north and south of the church.

There is a small chapel over the narthex, accessible only by a modern timber stair : there is no sign that there was ever anything more solid and the small door by which one enters it now is the only opening large enough. The floor of the chapel (or roof of the narthex) cuts across a window on to the west porch, showing that there have been alterations here at some time.

Other points of interest in the church are the synthronos ; remains of stone paving in north porch, narthex and north aisle ; battered but once fine *opus sectile* floor in the dome bay, containing nine different kinds of marble ; and the magnificent set of capitals, columns and bases whose date, within centuries, is a matter of discussion. The capitals and columns of the porches are all re-used ones and are of various dates from the 5th century ³² onwards ; there is also a considerable number of carved stones in the form of roundels set in the walls, which have very strong Armenian and Seljuk affinities. The "honeycomb" impost of the west porch are even more puzzling, but can be compared with some at the church of the Holy Apostles at Ani.³³ The well-known carvings in the tympanum of the south porch have been dealt with thoroughly by Alpatov.³⁴

Though the actual date of founding is still obscure, it appears certain that St. Sophia was built under imperial patronage—it has the single-headed Comnene eagle over the central window in the main apse and in the south porch tympanum—and as Finlay ³⁵ reported seeing the portrait of the Emperor Manuel I (1238–63) among the wall-paintings, it must have been built some time between the founding of the Empire in 1204 and about 1260. It was converted into a mosque ³⁶ in 1573, though the south porch, where the mihrab now is, was still open like the others as late as 1840 when Hamilton saw it.

N. Brounov,³⁷ who made a detailed study of the church in 1917, advanced the theory that it was originally built as a basilica and altered to its present form later, when the porches were also added. The latter point is certainly disproved by the existence of a particular narrow course of masonry containing many blocks of a red stone not used elsewhere in the building, which runs right round the entire periphery, porches as well as the body of the church, and the basilican theory is certainly not proved. His further idea, of galleries enclosing the angles between the porches, could only be established if the foundations could be found by digging. More information about the structure may come to light during the cleaning of the paintings.

³² Strzygowski, *BCH*, XIX, pp. 518 ff.

³³ Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1918, Fig. 775.

³⁴ op. cit., in note 8.

³⁵ Millet, op. cit., in note 3, quotes Finlay, *History of Greece*, Oxford, 1877, p. 394.

³⁶ Evliya Effendi, trans. J. von Hammer-Pürgstall, *Narratives of Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*, London, 1834, p. 45.

³⁷ op. cit., in note 4.

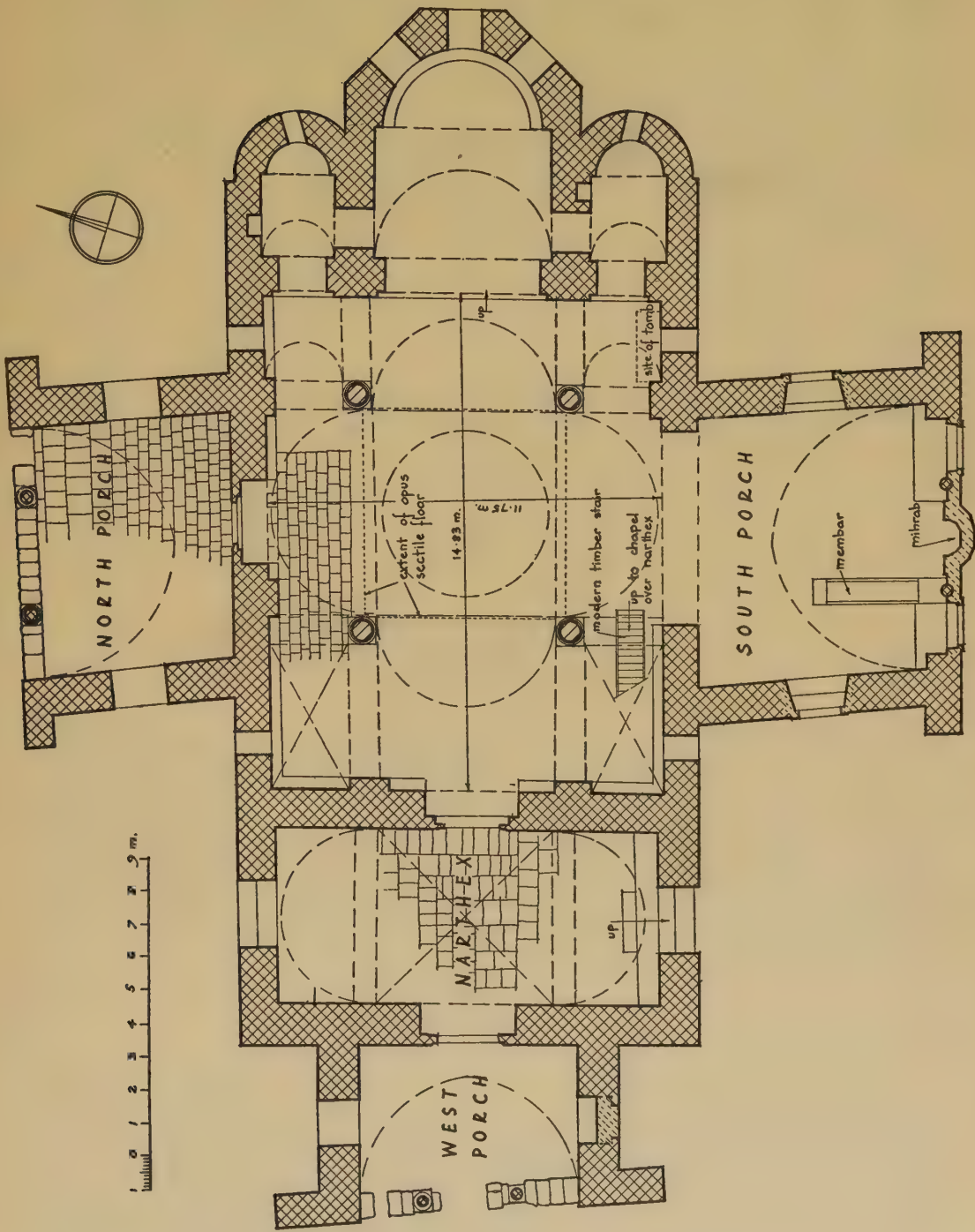


FIG. 15. Plan of St. Sophia.

ZEYTLİK CAMİ'İ. Plan, Fig. 16.

Though battered and in bad repair, the east end of this small mosque was clearly once that of a church. Its dedication is lost and its existence hitherto unrecorded. The apses are built of large, quite well-laid blocks on a plinth which has now lost its facing; what remains of the south wall is also back to the mortared rubble and has a blocked doorway. On the north wall much of the facing remains, but some has fallen away, revealing that

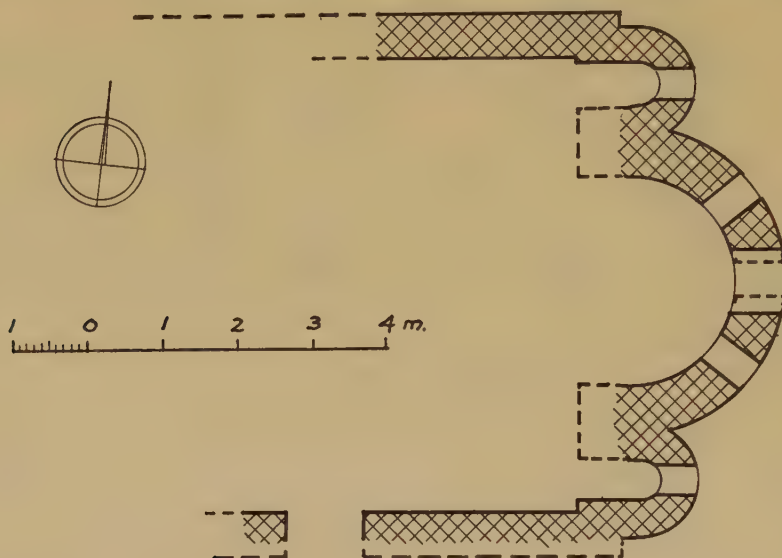


FIG. 16. Plan of Zeytinlik Cami'i.

most of it is of thin (*c.* 10 cm.) slabs, but with some narrow header stones bonded back into the rubble core. Mouldings can be made out round the windows; and the west door of the mosque has a stone with carved interlacing decoration over it, clearly re-used from the church. Dating is difficult: three rounded apses only occur in Trebizond in the 9th-century rebuilding of the church of St. Anne, but the masonry and window mouldings point rather to the period of St. Sophia and the other 13th- and 14th-century churches.

Outside Trebizond

ST. MICHAEL AKÇAABAT. Plan, Fig. 17; section, Fig. 18.

Akçaabat is a fair-sized town eight miles west of Trebizond; the church of St. Michael, which is in a suburb high up to the south of the town, was seen by Hamilton in 1840, when the priest told him that it was then 800 years old, but Professor Talbot Rice considers it more likely to be 13th- or 14th-century. It is now in use as a house. The church was restored and extended in 1846, as is attested by a long inscription over the north door; the medieval structure is easily distinguished from the 19th-century parts, the plan being nearly identical with that of the church of St. Philip (see p. 159). The present dome and drum, though entirely restored, are

doubtless reasonably like the originals. The interior of the church is typically plain Trapezuntine; there is no sign of wall-paintings, but the *opus sectile* floor, in black, white, green and terracotta red, may be similar to an original one, though a complete restoration.

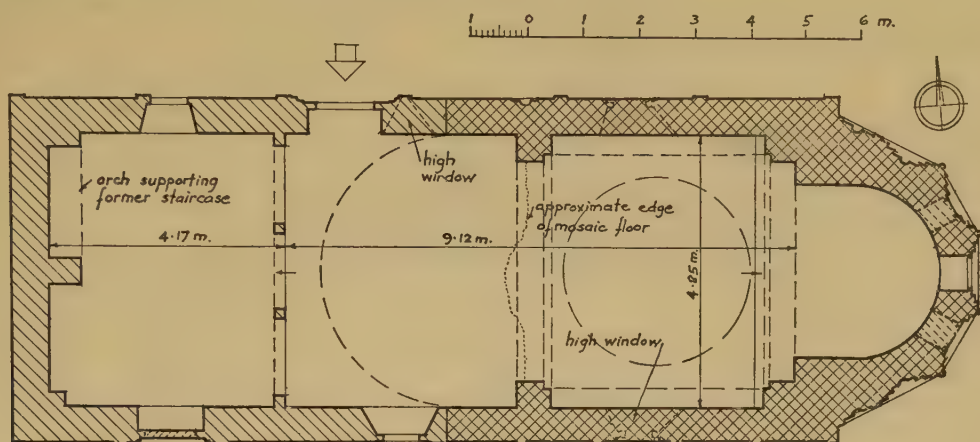


FIG. 17. Plan of St. Michael, Akçaabat.

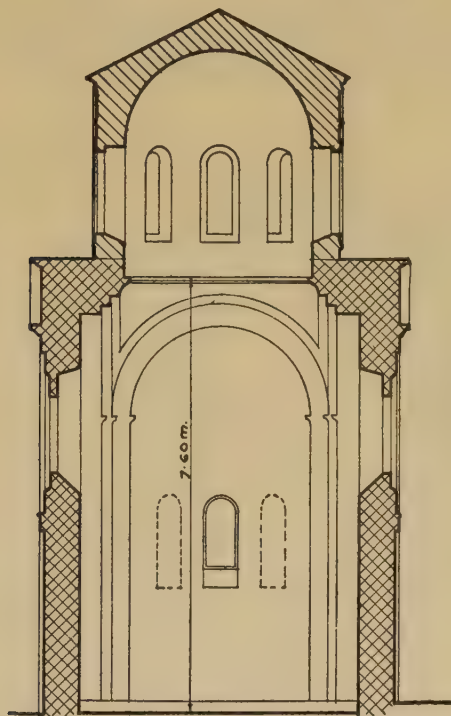


FIG. 18. Section of St. Michael, looking east.

The great interest of the church, however, lies in its exterior (Pl. XXI*b*), as it is entirely different from anything else in the region. Firstly, it is built of a light-coloured stone with variegated shades of pinkish-brown, green and yellow, totally unlike the dull, dark grey or brown stone which is universal locally. Secondly, it is richly decorated with blind arcading in

three levels, separated by bands of carved interlacing decoration, on the apse, with rope mouldings round the top arch and the cornice ; and in two levels on north and south walls of the naos, where it is reduced to absolute simplicity. The pediments which form gables on these walls are totally unrelated to the arcading, spanning two and a half bays on the north wall and four and a half on the south, with the result that the windows (which

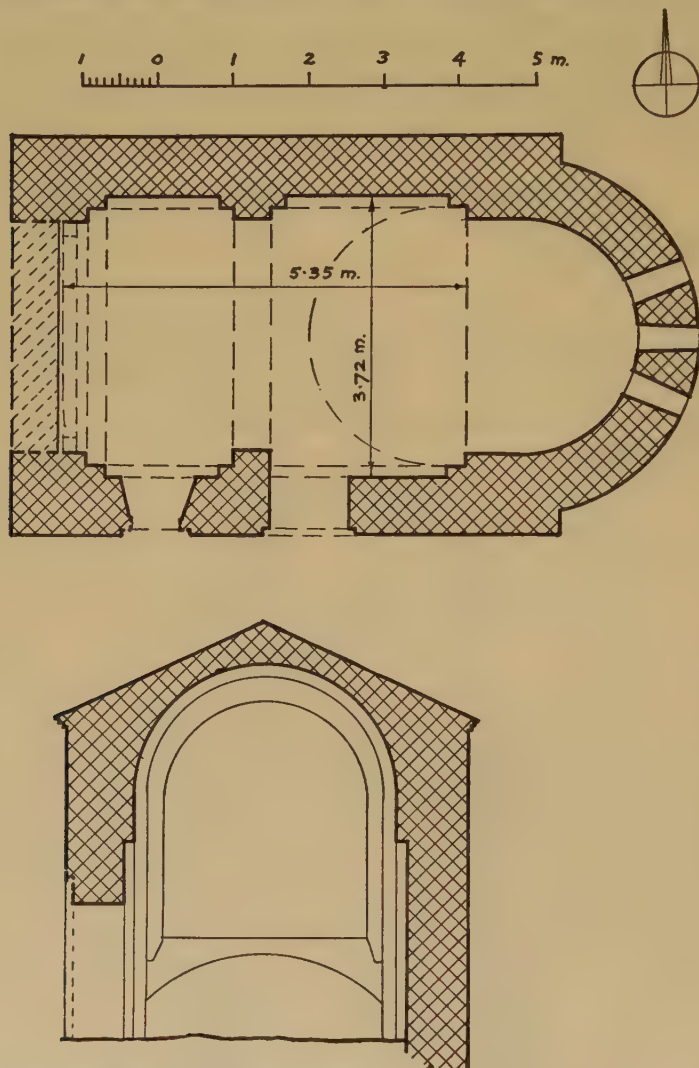


FIG. 19. Plan, and section looking west, of church at Orta Mahalle, Akçaabat.

may date from the 1846 restoration), though in the middle of a bay of arcading, are off-centre to the dome. The bay under the south window has been repaired or blocked in the same masonry as the rest of the wall.

Armenian or Georgian influence must be responsible for this unusual exterior, but it seems certain that it was actually built by local masons : not only is the plan typically Trapezuntine, but the complete failure to grasp the significance of blind arcading in relation to the structure and plan shows that this was a concept quite unfamiliar to the builder. The stone must have been brought from a distance.

It is interesting to note that the curious octagonal church of Varzahan,³⁸ about 20 km. north-west of Bayburt, is in most respects very Armenian in character and has a similar rope-moulding to that in St. Michael on the external blind arcading. Further rope-mouldings occur on the north porch of Chrysocephalos and on the dome drum of St. Philip.

ORTA MAHALLE, AKÇAABAT. Plan and section, Fig. 19.

This small and hitherto unrecorded church lies about half a mile to the south of St. Michael ; though still in a fair state of repair its use as byre and henhouse is likely to hasten its end. The rounded apse with parallel-sided windows, the barrel-vaulted naos with one rib, the coarse but solidly built masonry and the use of brick for window arches are all typical of medieval work in this area. The further west of the two doors is probably a late cutting and the brick cornice (Pl. XXIIc) may not be original. The west wall is most remarkable : though the quoins appear to indicate that there was no further extension to the west, practically the whole elevation is taken up with two openings (see section) ; the lower one, with the crown of the arch 1·20 m. from the floor, might have been a tomb recess ; the arch enclosing the upper one is slightly forward of the lower and is carried on corbels. Both are now roughly blocked. There are remains of wall-paintings on the internal face of the south wall, near the apse ; only a Deësis can be distinguished.

CASTLE CHURCH, BAYBURT.³⁹ Plan, Fig. 20.

The great castle of Bayburt, though mainly Turkish as it stands now, has a stretch of wall along its north-east side which must be much earlier and, indeed, there is said to have been an Armenian castle here in the time of the Bagratid dynasty (885-1044) and even earlier.⁴⁰ Whether this area was ever part of the Empire of Trebizond does not appear to be known, though at one time it was in High Armenia ; but the ruined church which survives in the castle has the very typical Trapezuntine feature of two rounded side apses combined with a polygonal central one—an arrangement unknown in Armenia. So little is left of the rest of the building that it is uncertain whether it was domed or barrel-vaulted. It is built up considerably on the north side and probably had a crypt.

The masonry is of rather larger blocks than is common on the coast and is the same in apses and side walls.

FETOKA. Plan, Fig. 21.

On the eastern slope of a deep valley running down to the coast at Surmene, and about sixteen miles from the sea, are the ruins of a monastery. The surveying and unravelling of the whole plan would not be easy, but the

³⁸ op. cit., in note 33, pls. 520, 521.

³⁹ I am indebted to Miss Freya Stark for information of the existence of this church.

⁴⁰ Texier, op. cit., in note 1, p. 59 ; *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. by H. Cordier, London, 1903, Vol. I, p. 49.

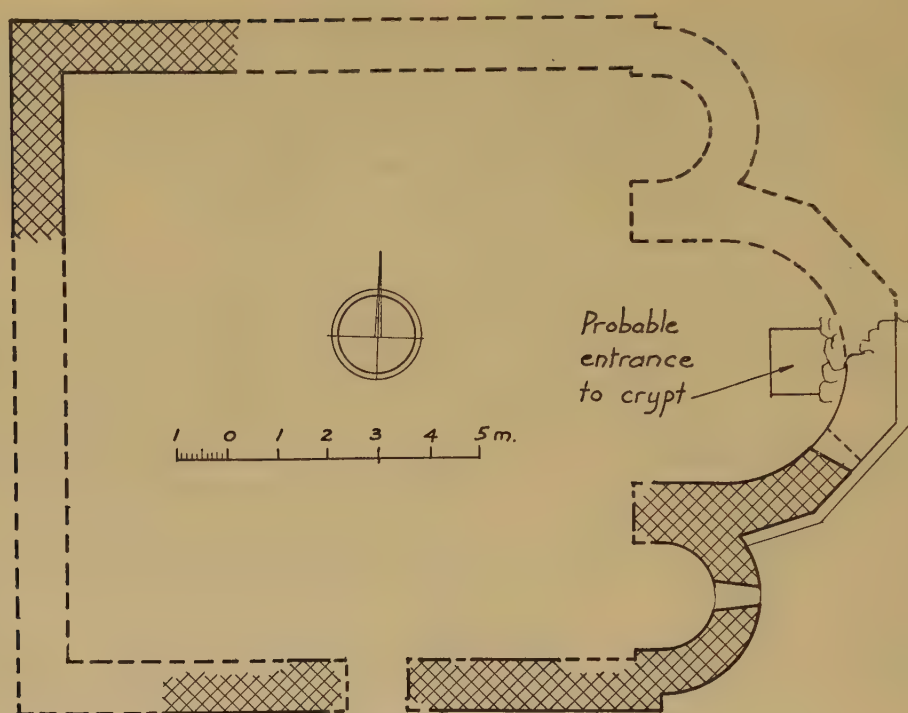


FIG. 20. Plan of church in Bayburt Castle.

church or chapel is clearly recognisable. The highest part now standing is approximately 1.50 m. above the floor; the masonry is of the usual roughly squared type, with blocks up to 20×30 cm. laid in thick beds of mortar, as facing to a rubble core. The external facing of the apse has been entirely robbed away, but enough of the rest remains to show that it was polygonal in plan, though a stilted semicircle internally. The west door

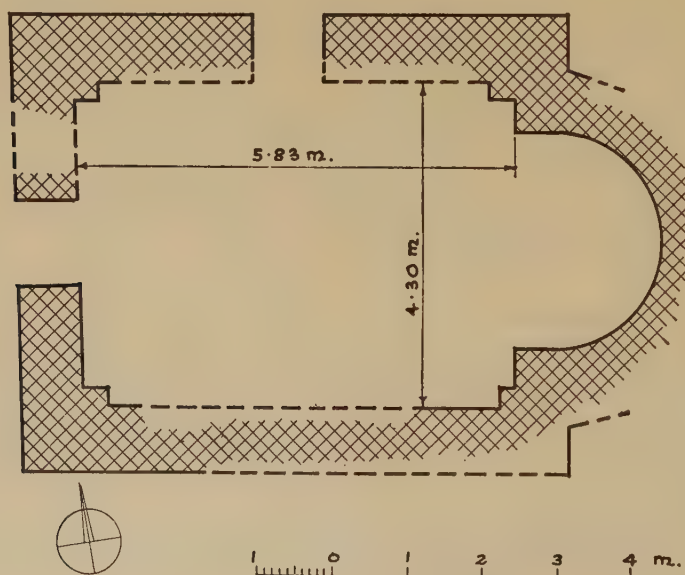


FIG. 21. Plan of church at Fetoka.

and the opening on the north, which may have been door or window, have each one or two large jamb stones in position. A large block, probably a lintel, which is lying nearby may have come from this building: it has a long inscription in Byzantine Greek which is probably a quotation from a sacred writing and conveniently bears the date A.D. 944-945.

There are reports of other churches in this valley.

THE ARMENIAN MONASTERY OF KAYMAKLI. Plan, Fig. 22.

This monastery is situated about two miles from Trebizond on the west slope of the valley of the ancient River Pyxites, up which runs the great trade route over the Zigana pass to Eastern Anatolia and Persia. There were Armenian monks here until after the First World War, but the church is now roofless, the open belfry has disappeared (though its ground-floor structure remains) and the chapel and range of monastic buildings are gradually disintegrating.

The history of the monastery may be locked away somewhere in the archives of the Armenian church but nothing seems to be known of it locally. The tiny chapel (internal measurements excluding apse 2.02×1.71 m.) has an inscription in Armenian on the huge lintel over the door, which gives the date 1622,⁴¹ but there is no indication of the date of the main church. Professor Talbot Rice is of the opinion that the frescoes in the latter are of mid-18th century date at earliest; but at the west end of the south wall part of an earlier layer is now visible; and since Bordier⁴² in the first decade of the 17th century visited an Armenian monastery which, from his description of its position, must certainly be Kaymaklı and noted that the many paintings in the church included the Mysteries of the Passion and lives of saints and bishops, it is reasonable to suppose that the present church was standing then. Its fabric, or parts of it, may well date from the 16th century or earlier: the apse (Pl. XXIIa), which is the oldest part, is built of alternating deep and shallow courses, smoothly dressed and closely jointed, with a slightly projecting plinth at the base; in all very like the apse of St. Sophia. The north wall, though it appears to be later than the apse, is of fair-sized squared blocks; the south and west walls are still later, of much rougher construction and with a number of carved stones with Armenian-type crosses built in below the central window of the south wall; the narthex, now gone except for vestiges of foundations, was latest of all. The apse has a neatly constructed masonry semi-dome (Pl. XXIIb) but, unlike any other church of any period in the neighbourhood, the naos had a simple gabled timber roof. The high window in the west gable is a late cutting.

In addition to the frescoes which cover almost the whole of the walls and which Professor Talbot Rice considers to be strongly Armenian in

⁴¹ Rice, *op. cit.*, in note 6, p. 140.

⁴² Julien Bordier, "Relation d'un Voyage en Orient 1604-1612," ed. by Chrysanthos in *Ἀρχαίων Ποντου*, 6, Athens, 1934.

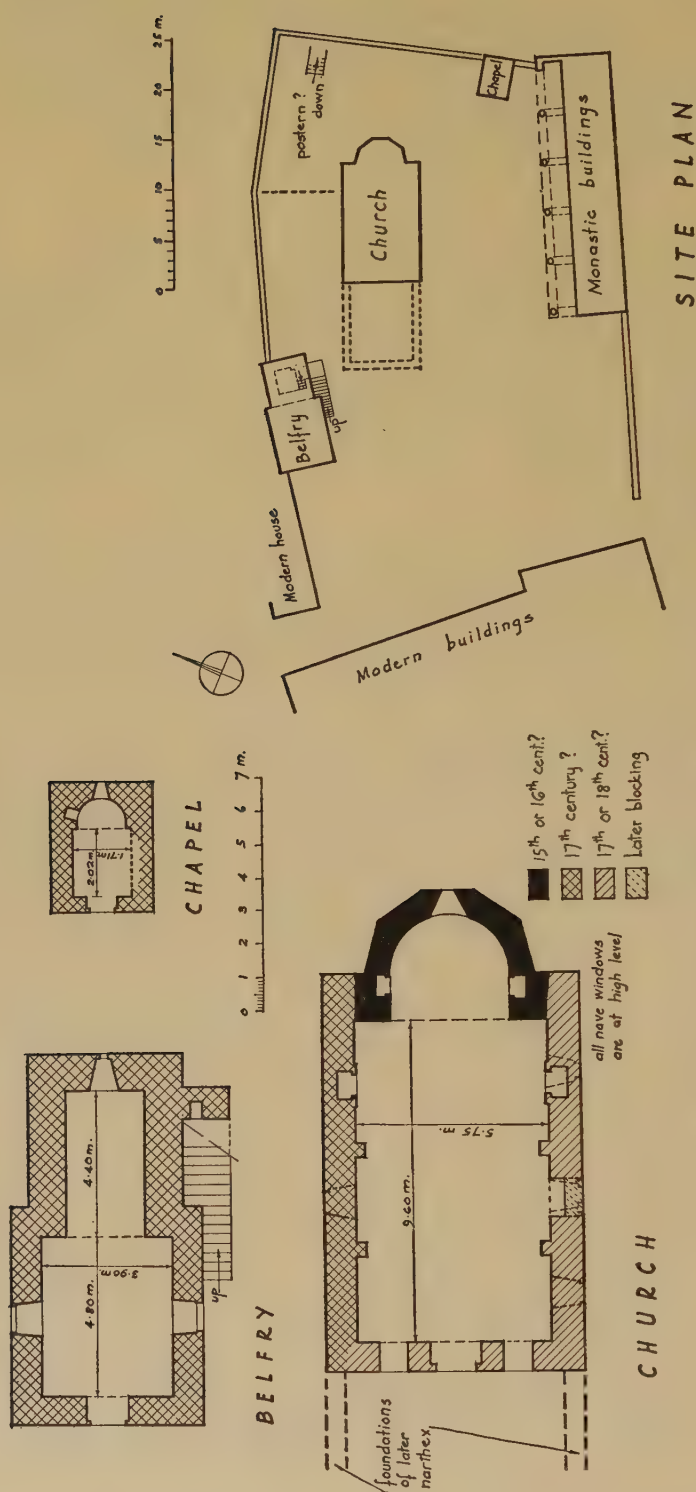


FIG. 22. Plan of church, chapel and belfry, and site plan, of Kaymaklı monastery.

character, the carved decorative niches in north and south walls are also very distinctive.

The little chapel already mentioned has a vault, slightly pointed, of mortared rubble, with hollow earthenware pots built in just above the spring. The inscribed apse is the only example in the district of this very common Armenian treatment of the east end of a church, but in fact it is so small that it would have been difficult to do much else with it. Some frescoes remain in it.

Of the other buildings, the belfry, judging from the style of masonry, may be contemporary with the second period of the church : the range of monastic buildings on the south-east angle of the enclosure appear to be much later. Foundations of other buildings lie below a modern barn and farmhouses. The whole enclosure is built up on north and east on a terrace wall which rises to a maximum height of about 4 m.

ST. BARBARA. Plan, Fig. 23.

The remains of a small monastery, locally known as Ayvarvar, stands on a high bluff overlooking the sea about four miles west of Trebizond ; it has not been recorded previously. Only the church can be distinguished, parts of it still standing 2 m. high. The apse, slightly horseshoe in plan

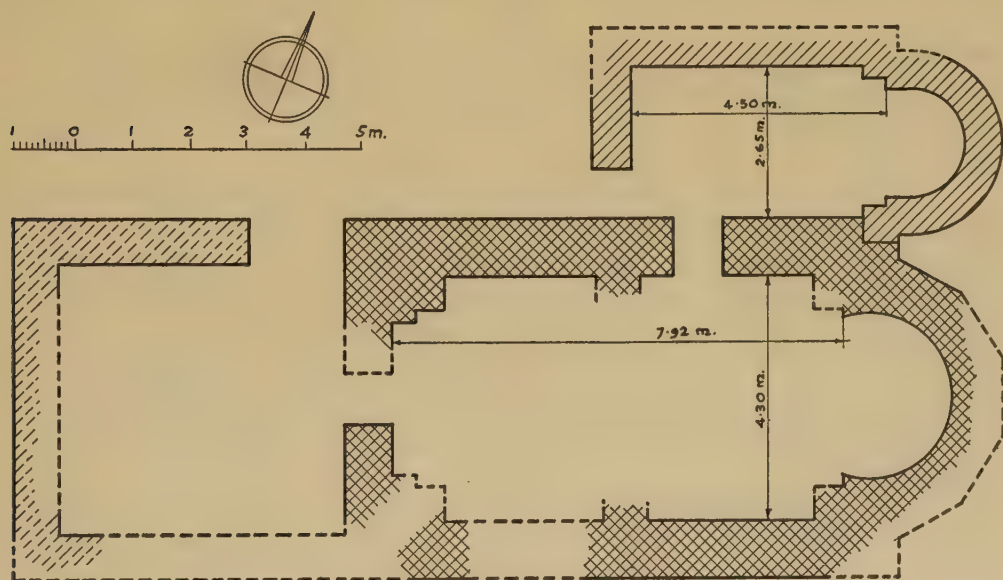


FIG. 23. Plan of St. Barbara.

internally, was faced with more smoothly dressed and larger blocks (45–55 cm. long $\times$ 20–30 cm. deep) than the rest : most have been robbed away but enough remain on the north side to show that the apse was polygonal externally. The church would certainly have had a barrel-vault ; the small chapel on the north and the narthex, both of which are later additions, may have been vaulted or may have had timber roofs.

SUMMARY

It is not easy to sum up Trapezuntine architecture and it is not easy to analyse it : in the relatively small number of churches surviving there is a wide diversity of plans and of decorative features ; and the two greatest and most interesting, St. Sophia and the Chrysocephalos, are in their different ways partially at least outside the general pattern—in so far as there is one.

The principal local characteristics are :—

(1) Use of basilicas, both barn-church and clerestory types ; and after the introduction of the dome a tendency to continue with basilical characteristics ; e.g. if there is a single bay west of the dome it is never square but much longer east-west than north-south. (It is interesting to note that this was still the custom in the 19th century.) Even when the simple centralised plan of a domed square bay is used, the church is elongated by the addition of a west bay.

(2) The use of the dome ; at what date this was introduced locally is not known but it was probably not before the 11th or even 12th century, by which time it was practically standard for churches throughout the Byzantine world. Domes are invariably supported on pendentives and tall drums ; there is never more than one to a church. A local peculiarity is that the pendentives are brought forward and the actual diameter of the ring at the top slightly decreased by the building of the arches supporting the dome in one or two “ orders ”—see Pl. XIX*b* and Fig. 12. The drums are usually then set back, leaving a narrow gallery round the top of the pendentive ring ; the total effect is to dissociate dome and drum from the pendentives, but whether this gives quite the sublime and “ floating ” effect claimed for it by Millet and Baklanov is a matter of opinion.

(3) Almost exclusive use of barrel-vaults. The barrel-vaulted basilica was a common form on the Anatolian plateau both before and after the Arab wars ; in Armenia and in Georgia it is found at least up to the 7th century. In these countries the dome then became the rule, but many of the churches continued to have a rectangular rather than a square plan, with barrel-vaults over the aisles and the long west bay. In Trebizond, too, the aisles are barrel-vaulted and the west bay is long (see (1) above), but this is probably due to the tenacity of the basilical tradition rather than to foreign influence.

(4) Three projecting apses normal in a three-aisled church (Chrysocephalos is the only exception) ; but the central one is usually polygonal (with five sides) externally, though the side ones are rounded. Polygonal apses were common, though perhaps rather fewer than rounded ones, in Anatolia from an early date ; they were always the rule in Constantinople (St. John in Trullo being the only exception) ; but the combination with rounded side ones is uncommon anywhere and occurs in curiously scattered places : there are two examples at Trillya, on the Sea of Marmara ; and others at Iznik (the ancient Nicaea) ; St. Sophia and Panaghia Chalkeon, Salonika ; St. Sophia, Ochrida (Macedonia) ; Mokwi, Georgia ⁴³

⁴³ *BZ.*, 1927, p. 85.

(Brunov's plan, Wulff shows a round central apse) ; St. Sophia, Novgorod ; St. Sophia, Kiev (K. J. Conant's reconstruction).⁴⁴ There are also one or two examples in Italy which can be considered irrelevant. Of these, most have a three-sided central apse, only Mokwi and the Russian examples having five (or more) sides ; and as these latter examples are all of 11th-century date, whereas most of the others are earlier, it seems highly probable that the influence for this feature came from Georgia and Russia.

(5) Large porches were frequent : St. Sophia has them on north, south and west ; St. Eugenios, St. Philip, Nakıp Cami and the Chrysocephalos on the north only and as later additions. Such porches are found occasionally in Armenia ; in Georgia, at Mokwi (11th-century), Gelati, Manglis and Akhtala (all 12th-century) ; and occasionally in Russia. Thus the same influences appear to have been at work for porches as for apses, though why the north side should have been chosen for the porches is obscure.

(6) Windows are always single, never multiple (except for the double ones in the narthex chapel of St. Sophia) ; in the earlier periods the jambs are parallel in plan, not tapering to the exterior, but later (apse of St. Eugenios) a slight taper is introduced in the much larger windows. Wide shallow mouldings round the heads of and between the apse windows occur in St. Sophia, St. Philip, St. Basil, St. Eugenios and Zeytinlik Cami'i, all of which are probably of Empire date. Mouldings in this position are rare in Anatolia, but very common in Armenia and Georgia.

(7) Use of horseshoe and pointed arches : arches slightly horseshoe in shape occur in Nakıp Cami, St. Philip (apse) and St. Eugenios ; slightly pointed ones in the dome bays of St. Eugenios and the Chrysocephalos, in the long west bay of St. Philip and in all three porches of St. Sophia. The apses of Nakıp Cami are horseshoe on plan, as is the south apse of St. Eugenios. The horseshoe apse and arch are fairly common in Anatolia and in Armenia from the 6th century or earlier ; the genesis of the pointed arch is more obscure, but it occurs at Qasr-ibn-Wardan in the 6th century and Creswell ⁴⁵ gives several early Islamic examples. In Armenia it was in fairly common use in later centuries.

(8) The masonry in the body of the church is always rougher (except in St. Basil) than that of the apses, which is well-worked, closely-jointed and of larger stones (though not in St. Anne). Arches, where visible, are of brick ; vaults, where visible, of mortared rubble. One factor common to all the medieval churches except the earliest, St. Anne, and the latest phase of St. Eugenios (and omitting the two doubtfuls, St. Basil and Church D), is the addition of masonry to the external walls above the spring of the vaults inside : the masonry below the cornice is different from and inferior to the rest of the walls. The reason is probably that the vaults were originally roofed with lead or copper (or just possibly bitumen) as is believed to have been the case at St. Saviour in Chora, Constantinople, for example, and in

⁴⁴ *The Art and Architecture of Russia*, Pelican History of Art, 1954, Pl. I.

⁴⁵ *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture*, Penguin Books, 1958, p. 103.

the earlier Russian churches. At some time, perhaps in late Comnene times or perhaps since the Turkish conquest, the advantages of pitched tiled roofs for throwing off rain may have been realised and most of the church roofs altered. Possibly St. Eugenios was rebuilt for the last time after this date, which would account for the uniformity of its walls right up to cornice level. It should, however, be noted that Hatuniye Cami'i, a 16th-century mosque in the town, has a lead roof.

(9) Decoration. As mentioned at the beginning of this article, the emphasis is on architecture, but decorative elements cannot be entirely ignored. The local stone, of a singularly dull grey colour and coarse texture, was not sympathetic to fine mouldings or other carving, but the dome drums of St. Philip and St. Eugenios and the south and west porches of St. Sophia, for example, show how much could be done with it, especially with a coat of whitewash as a help in showing up the relief.

But by far the greater part of the interest and richness must have lain in the wall-paintings, though whether there was a local school or whether the artists were brought in and, if so, from where, is not yet certain. The prevalence of these paintings is notable and, according to 19th-century travellers, there were many on the exterior of the buildings as well as inside; some survived into this century. The custom of painting the exteriors existed also in Serbia, in Roumania and in South Russia. No mosaics survive, if indeed there ever were any: the nearest approach is the *opus sectile* work on the bema walls of the Chrysocephalos. The floor paving in the same sort of style in St. Sophia has a parallel in a fragment in the Pantocrator church in Constantinople; the reports in Millet and others of similar floors now covered in St. Eugenios and the Chrysocephalos do not indicate whether or not they are of the same type, but they probably are.

CONCLUSION

Thus the earliest and most powerful influences were probably Anatolian: the use of basilicas, of horseshoe apses and arches, of barrel-vaults and of five-sided apses may all originally have come from the plateau and, since most of the existing Trebizond churches were probably built after the Seljuk Turks had put an end to such activity in most of Asia Minor, the tenacity of the tradition—or perhaps the lack of originality on the part of the local builders—is remarkable. The style of the earlier churches cannot, of course, be known, but it is probably fair to assume that the 9th-century church of St. Anne is typical of the smaller ones.

As Trebizond was the port for shipping to the west the goods which came along the great trade route from Anatolia, Armenia, Persia and even further east, it is to be expected that her architecture should show signs of influence from that direction.

The dome may have been introduced from Armenia but, if so, the subsequent treatment of it is totally different; the use of large porches and of mouldings over apse windows are both probably due to Georgian influence at the time of the Comnene Empire, but are not of major

importance. Similarities with some of the Russian churches are probably due to exchange of ideas along the Black Sea trade routes and the traffic may have been either way, or both ways. It must not be forgotten, moreover, that the Chersonese was for a time under the control of the Trapezuntine emperors. The lack of Constantinopolitan trends is striking, as much trade must have passed between Trebizond and the capital, but the *opus sectile* floor and the columns, capitals and bases in St. Sophia (and perhaps floors in some of the other churches) are almost the only proof of any contact at all. (The question of the paintings is still under discussion.) Trebizond, like Asia Minor in general, was more of the East than of the West; and its architecture, in its synthesis of various elements, remains resolutely individual. Though its warmest advocate cannot call it truly great, a solid dignity and a sure feeling for interior space can certainly be claimed for it.

MEASURED PLANS OF URARTIAN FORTRESSES

By C. A. BURNEY and G. R. J. LAWSON

THIS ARTICLE COMPRISES descriptive and explanatory notes on a number of plans made during a plane-table survey carried out by the authors in the Van region in the summer of 1957.¹ In addition to the plans and photographs, there are two details, one being an elevation. The form of publication is partly determined by the appearance of sketch-plans of most of these Urartian fortresses in a preliminary article.² Apart from correction of certain errors in that article, the general information given therein will not be repeated. For the position of the various fortresses reference should be made to the map published in that preliminary report.³ To the sites marked thereon should be added two more, Aznavur and Kancıklı, both near Patnos, on the road north-west from Erciş to Karaköse and thus some way north of Lake Van. Both are of major importance: Aznavur lies one mile north-west of Patnos and Kancıklı some nine miles south-east.

The plans were drawn in the field at a scale of 1 : 400, with the exception of that of the remarkable grid of streets and blocks that extends over the top of Zernakı Tepe, for which a scale of 1 : 2,000 was thought sufficient. One important note must be made: this is that the contour-lines are only approximate, having been sketched in, because time did not allow of the use of a level. The making of accurately contoured plans of these fortress sites, which are usually set on steep, rocky hilltops, would be too time-consuming an undertaking, in the absence of excavations. Where the precise thickness of a wall was not discernible—a frequent difficulty with Urartian sites, since the perimeter is usually a revetment—the backing of the wall is shown dotted; in such places the original surface on the inner side of the wall has often disappeared. Only what could actually be seen is shown on the plans as a continuous line of face, filled in or otherwise. Reference is given, in brackets, to the grid, to facilitate location of features on the plans; but, for obvious reasons, a grid could not be applied to the plan of Zernakı Tepe. The order in which the sites are arranged is approximately geographical, beginning with those nearest to Van.

ZIVİSTAN

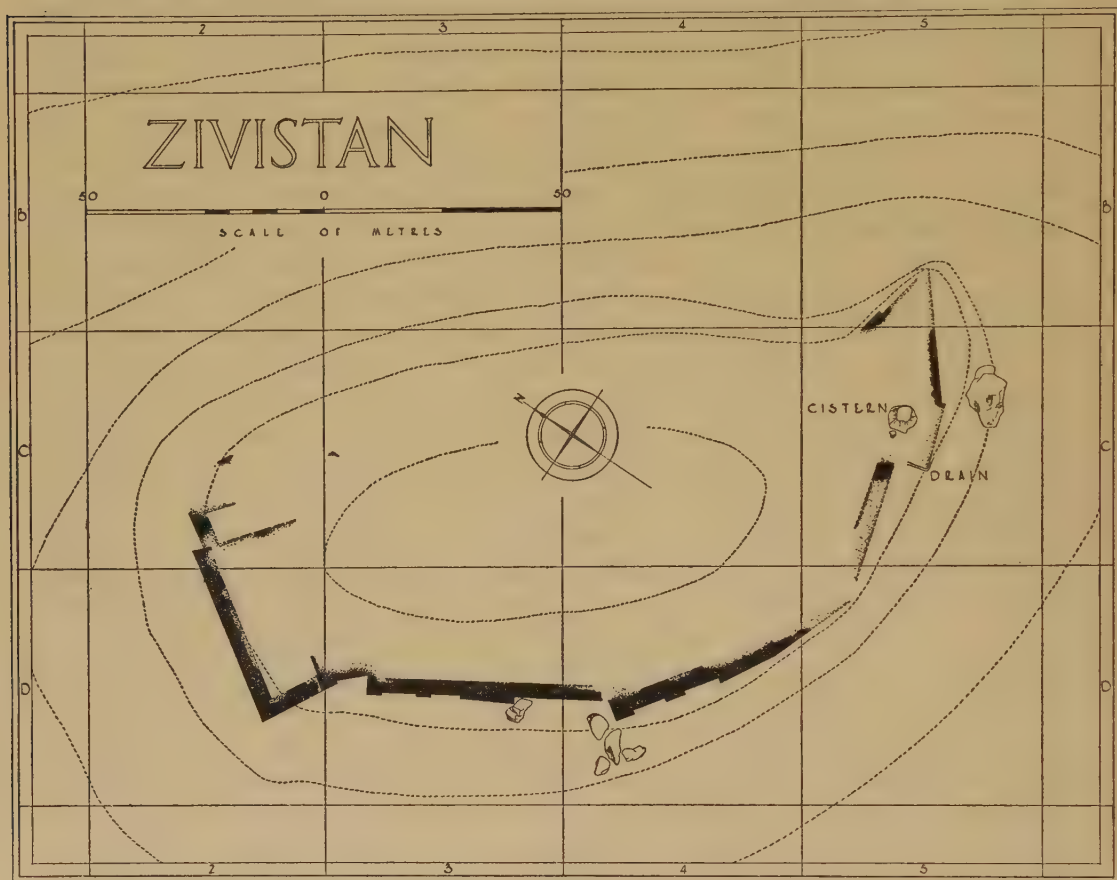
The wall of this small fortress is best preserved on the short north-west side, where the cyclopean masonry, without buttresses along the face, stands up to five courses high (D2). At the north-east end of this stretch of wall there is what is clearly an addition to the original fortress, built of smaller blocks (C2). There is some possibility of a gateway between the corner of the north-west wall and the first buttress of the south-west wall

¹ Mr. Gordon Lawson, A.R.I.B.A., is responsible for the drawing of all the plans; without him the survey would have been impossible.

² *AS.* VII (1957), pp. 37-53.

³ *ibid.*, fig. 1.

(D2) ; but this is very uncertain, although dimensions suggest it. At the south-east end, where the wall is hard to trace, there is a small rock-cut channel, doubtless a drain, and a rock-cut cistern (C5). The drain is similar to the longer one which runs down from the shrine carved out of the north side of Van Kale. The terraces below the north-east side of the fortress, where nothing of the Urartian wall remains visible, and from



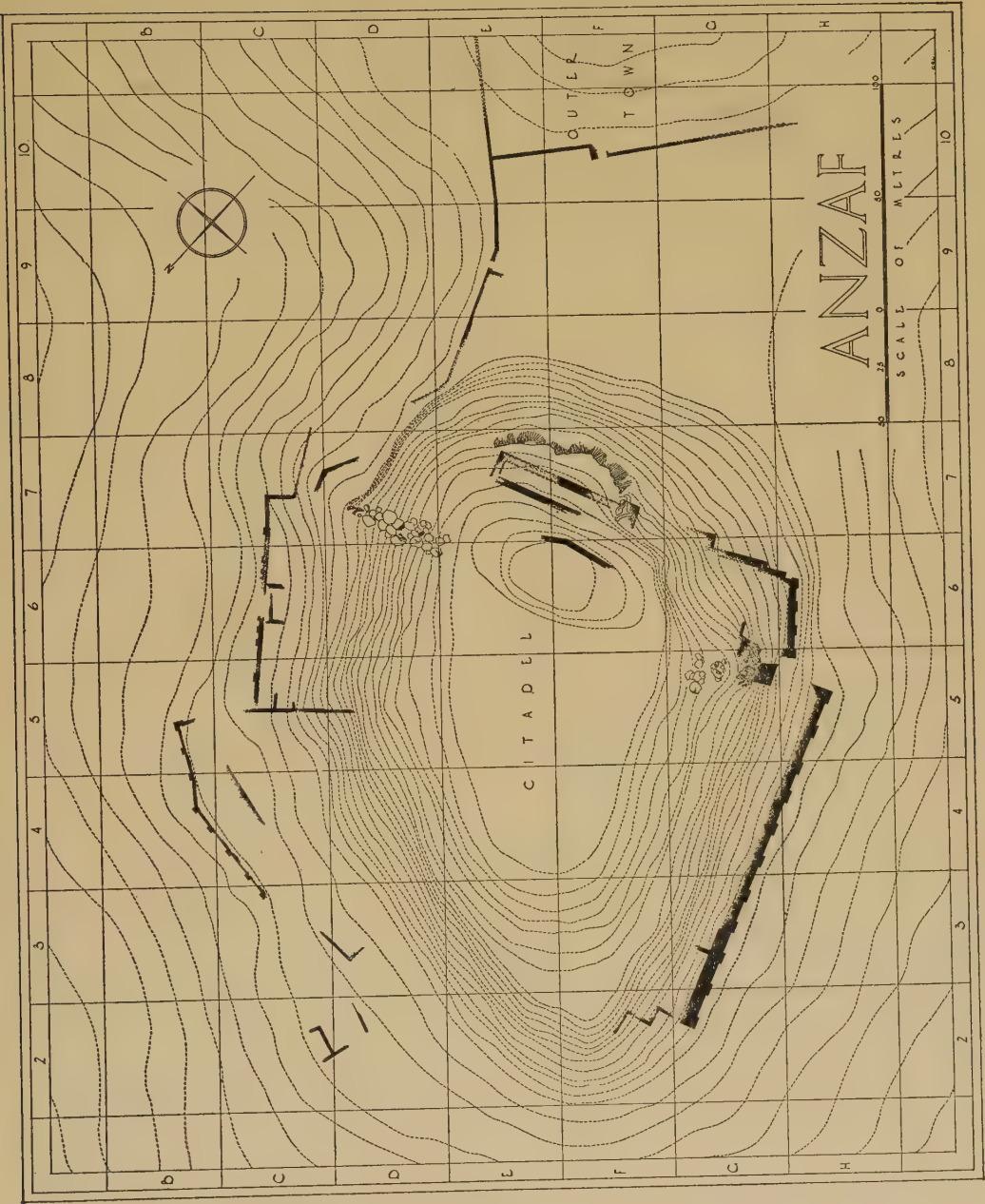
where Van Kale can be seen, were at first supposed to belong to the Urartian period,⁴ but are in fact more recent. They are roughly constructed, not laid out straight, like the similar terraces below Deli Çay Kalesi. The absence of buttresses along the north-west wall, together with the finding in the neighbouring village of fragmentary inscriptions of Išpuini,⁵ makes it probable that, with the lower fortress at Anzaf, this small stronghold dates to that reign.

UPPER ANZAF KALE

The lay-out of Urartian buildings and fortifications shows the importance attached to the site, doubtless largely because of its strategic

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 45 (the so-called Lower Town).

⁵ F. W. König, *Handbuch der chaldischen Inschriften*, Vol. I (Graz, 1955), nos. 2, 3, and 4a-f (pp. 2 and 37-8, and pls. 1-3).



situation, athwart the main natural road from the Urmia region in the east to the capital at Van. There is not only the upper and the lower fortress, separated from each other by about one-third of a mile, but also, to the south-east and south of the upper fortress, a large enclosure, clearly containing buildings, although their walls were not sufficiently visible to be shown on the plan: this, the Outer Town (E10-G10, etc.), was bounded by a pentagonal enclosure-wall, the two lower corners—one of which appears in the plan (E10)—being approximate right angles. There may have been a gateway just by a recess in the line of the enclosure-wall (F10). In the general appearance of its plan and the construction of its walls the Outer Town somewhat resembles the grid plan of Zernakı Tepe. The north-east end of the Outer Town lies in a natural saddle between the hill on which the upper fortress stands and the mountain overlooking the valley as a whole.

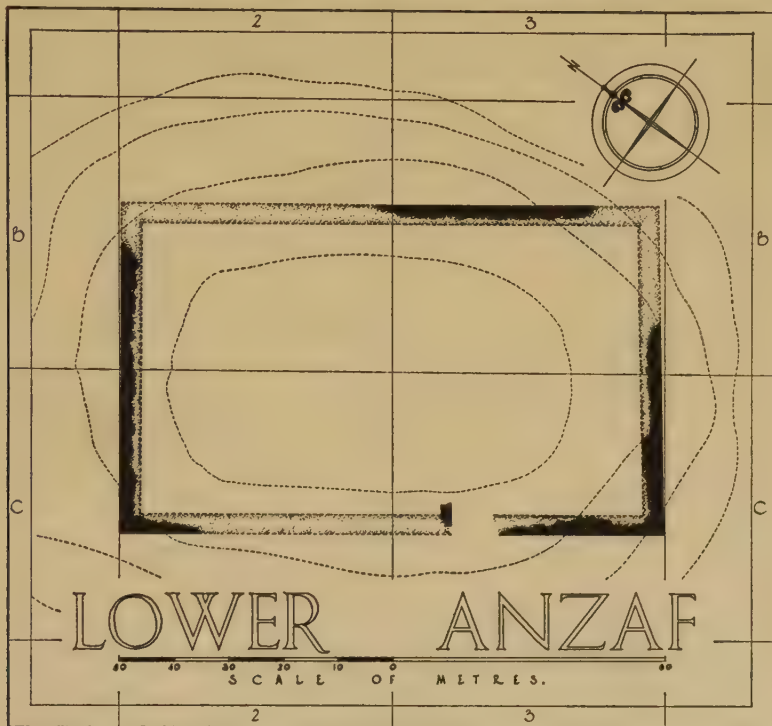
The upper fortress, as it is now, is very much buried under what may be largely decayed mud brick, so that much of the defences, especially to the north, is not discernible on the surface. Of the Citadel proper only the long west wall (G2-4, etc.) is entirely visible, and stands quite well preserved, its masonry being of the cyclopean type found at most of the Urartian fortresses, with the interstices carelessly filled in with small stones. Since it is a revetment wall, it was impossible to be sure of the line of the inner face, except at the north end; but there are traces suggesting that buildings ran right down to this part of the perimeter of the Citadel. Not far above the south end of this stretch of wall were at least two bastions, founded on outcrops of rock, with the usual ledges for keying the masonry; one of them has the remains of its solid masonry foundation, projecting out beyond the rock (G5). On the south side the main defence seems to be the lowermost of three walls, which is carried up from its junction with the long west wall (H6 and G6) to the crest of a precipitous rock (F7 and E7). The uppermost wall (F6, etc.), and perhaps also the middle one, belongs to a keep or small citadel standing on the highest ground within the fortress. Here there are remains of recent date, but apparently confined to a small area. No other Urartian walls are visible at the top of the fortress, except at the south end. A possible staircase, cut out of the rock, near the west end of the small upper citadel, is largely buried by later remains. From one very small portion visible it could be seen that the perimeter wall on the east side of the Citadel was quite high up the steep hillside, not far from the highest point to which the wall running up from the terrace (C5 and D5) was traced.

The two adjacent terraces on the east and north-east slopes below the Citadel (C3-7, etc.), with their buttressed retaining wall, doubtless originally continuous, are not altogether unlike the terraces of Kancıklı; but here there are sufficient traces of walls within the terraced areas to suggest that they were mainly occupied by houses, and that this formed a residential quarter, as much outside the protection of the Citadel as the

Outer Town to the south.⁶ This quarter probably extended round the foot of the north end of the Citadel (C2 and D2). There is thus good reason to suppose that, in spite of the rough construction of the perimeter wall of the Citadel, there was at Anzaf a considerable town, built in the shadow of the fortress and on an important road to the east.

LOWER ANZAF KALE

This small fortress, commanding the road from the east to Van, is unusual in having a plain wall, without towers or buttresses of any kind. The only parallel, apart from the structure at the foot of the west end of



Van Kale, is the fortress at Zivistan, built likewise of cyclopean masonry and without buttresses. But this parallel is significant, because both at Zivistan and close to the lower fortress at Anzaf there have been found inscriptions of Išpuini, the father of Menua : the former almost certainly were originally in the area of the fortress ; the inscription from Anzaf⁷ is carved on a round basalt column-base said by a villager to have been extracted by him from a well built of dressed stones, during the digging, some ten years ago, of a pond by the spring situated just to the east of the lower fortress. It is a straightforward building inscription, perhaps referring to this fortress. There is thus some reason to ascribe both

⁶ Contrary to my original opinion (*AS.* VII, p. 44) that the buttressed terrace wall was an outer wall of the Citadel.

⁷ Published by P. Hulin in this volume, pp. 205-7, with photograph (Pl. XXVIIa) showing the site.

Zivistan and the lower fortress at Anzaf to the reign of Iṣpuini. When it is realised that similar evidence suggests a date for the upper fortress at Anzaf in the reign of Menua, since four building inscriptions of that king have been found there,⁸ it seems likely that the fully developed design of Urartian fortresses, with their buttresses or towers at regular intervals, did not appear until the reign of Menua (*c.* 810–785 B.C.). Both the only two Urartian fortresses known to have no buttresses appear to date to the preceding reign, that of Iṣpuini. Such a development would be consistent with the great expansion of military and civil construction under Menua.



Otherwise the plan of the lower fortress at Anzaf has no features definitely discernible on the surface : there may have been a gateway not far from the centre of the south-west wall, where a gap is indicated (C3) ; though this is in a likely situation, facing towards Van, there was no proof of this. There is sufficient soil within the fortress to conceal internal walls.

ÇALDIRAN

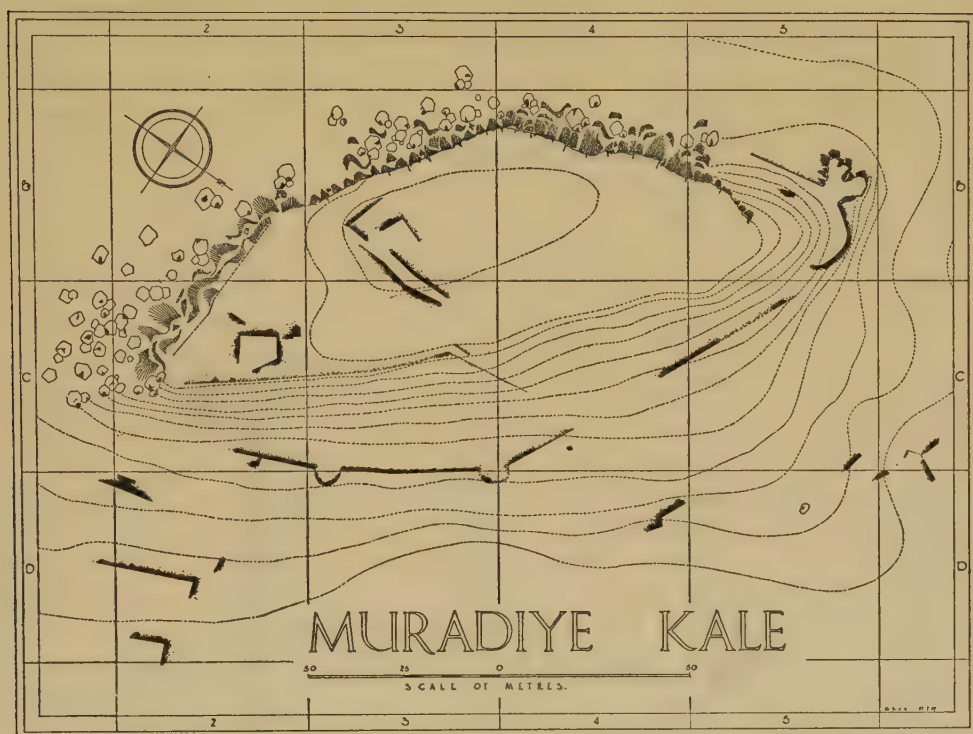
The perimeter wall of this small fort, which stands on a low hill overlooking the modern village of Çaldiran, was traced round for the greater part of its length, though in parts it has disappeared. It is built of fairly large but rough stones along either face, filled in with rubble in

⁸ See *Handbuch*, nos. 46, 55a and 72 (Vol. I, pp. 9, 11, 14, 73–5 and pls. 37, 41, 49 ; Vol. II (Graz, 1957), p. 82 : and a fourth found on the south-east slope below the Citadel and published by P. Hulin in this volume, p. 205.

the middle. Very probably there were buttresses, after the usual Urartian fashion, but the wall is so damaged that it is impossible to be certain about this. Within the wall, but not included on the plan, are the ruins of a rectangular stone building, by its construction certainly post-Urartian.⁹ One tradition has it that this was the camp of Yavuz Sultan Selim before his victory over Shah Ismail at Çaldıran (1514).

MURADIYE

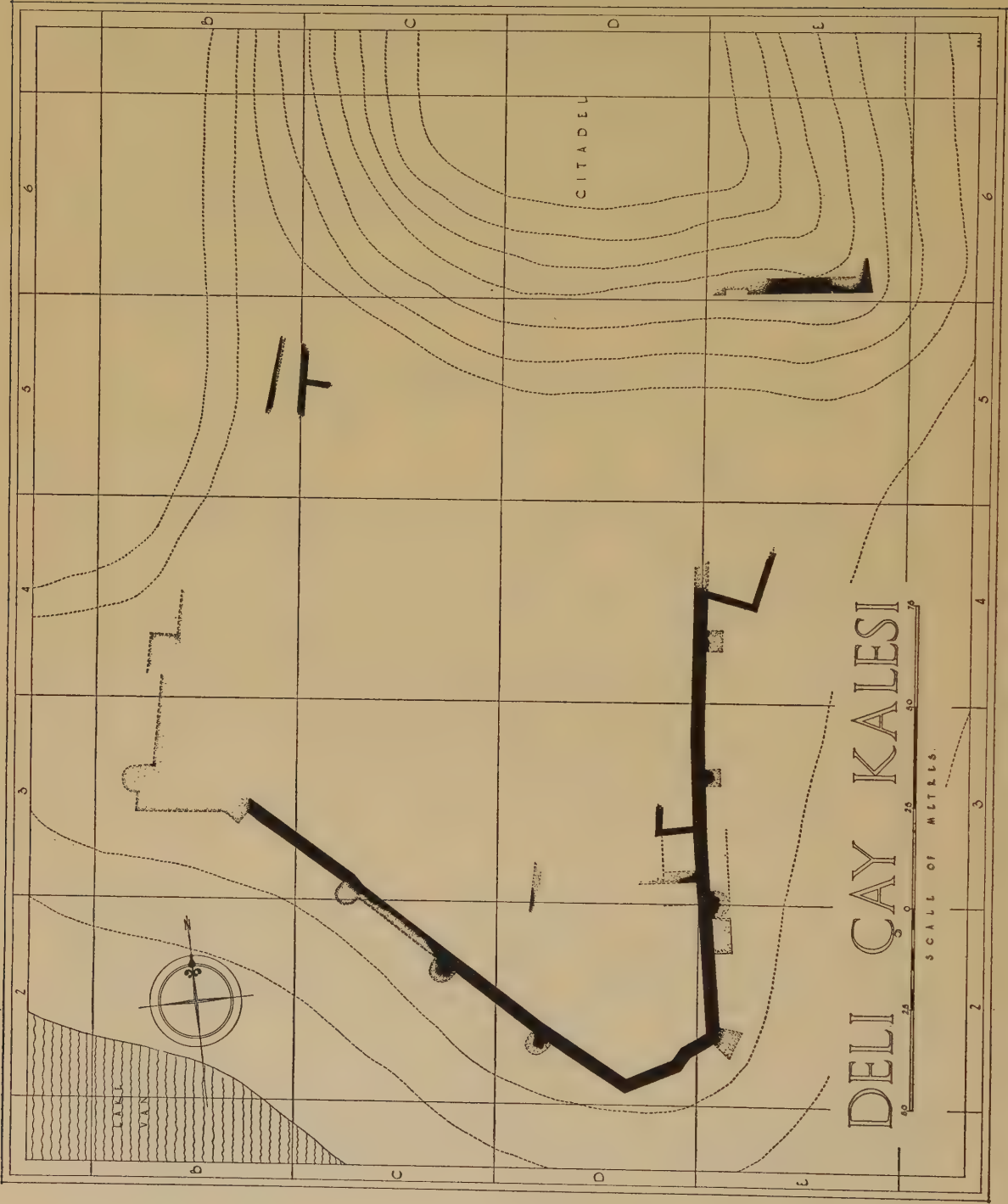
This stronghold stands on a rock overlooking the small district centre of Muradiye, close to the point at which the Bendimah Çay emerges from its course through a long defile down from the upland plain of Çaldıran



to the north-east. Comparatively little remains of the walls, which are of unusually rough construction. The poor preservation of the Urartian fortress is probably largely owing to stone-robbing at the time when a castle was built here by Shah Ismail (c. A.D. 1510).

Along the wall which extends round the north slope, much of whose course can be traced (C2-5), the stones used are merely boulders, and the towers are roughly semi-circular, sharp angles being impossible with such undressed stones. The wall of boulders round what appears to be a small platform at the west end (B5) is particularly rough. Apart from a few blocks *in situ* at the west end, no masonry could be seen along the precipitous south escarpment. The fragmentary remains of Urartian walls

⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 48-9, where it is wrongly described as an "inner keep".



on the top of the site include what seems to be part of a street (B₃ and C₃), nearly in line with the approach road up into Shah Ismail's castle. There may have been an upper wall belonging to the Urartian fortress, along the line of the later wall (shown dotted on the plan, C₂-3) : if not, some Urartian blocks, unmistakable by their size, were re-used in the later castle. Remains of walls below the buttressed perimeter wall on the north (D₂, D₄, etc.) belong to terraces, probably occupied by buildings and part of a town immediately outside the fortress. Walls of well-dressed masonry in the area north-west of the castle-rock must likewise belong to the Urartian town¹⁰; but nothing so well built is to be seen in the fortress, whose walls are made harder to trace by the ubiquity of natural boulders and rock.

DELI ÇAY KALESİ

Although by its position, and traces of a possible stone-built quay at the foot of the north side of the Citadel (not included on the plan), this site may well have served as a small anchorage on the north shore of Lake Van, in the shelter of an estuary, the rough construction of its walls makes it obviously of secondary importance. This is made all the more apparent owing to the fact, not originally realised,¹¹ that the roughly laid out terraces east of the fortress and south-east of the Citadel are not Urartian but later, probably contemporary with the ruins of a village covering the whole top of the Citadel, which is approximately square.

Comparatively little of the Urartian defences of the Citadel has remained visible, owing to the accumulation of a later occupation. Only one corner of this wall (E₆) is discernible, and it is built of rather better masonry than that of the perimeter wall of the lower enclosure, which is free-standing, with roughly built towers, projecting more than is usual at Urartian sites. These towers are either approximately semi-circular (C₂ and D₂), one such having its blocks laid in fan shape, or else squarish (E₃-4). The perimeter wall is 3 m. thick, with large stones along either face and rubble in the middle : in the roughness of its masonry it can be compared only with the fortress at Muradiye. Towards the Citadel the east wall of the lower enclosure peters out, and is here met by a building, of uncertain purpose, up against its outer face (E₄). Remains of internal walls (D₃ and C₅) are Urartian, and easily distinguishable from the recent, more or less circular, sheep-pens. But in spite of these traces of houses within the lower enclosure, its area is scarcely large enough to warrant its being described as a town.

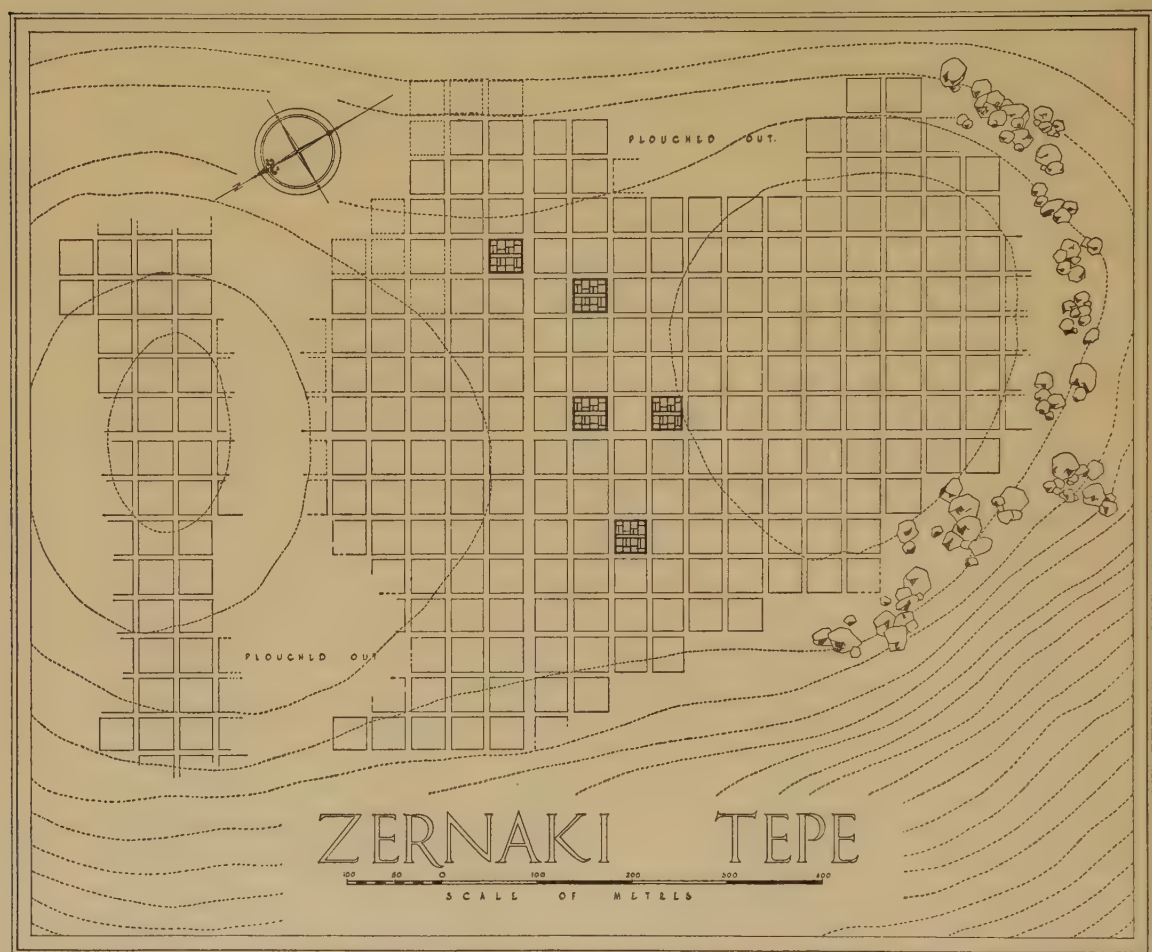
ZERNAKI TEPE

This site, laid out on a grid plan, each block divided from its neighbours by streets, covers the greater part of 1 square kilometre, extending over the undulating top of a limestone hill overlooking the

¹⁰ *AS.* VII, p. 48.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 49.

fertile valley in which the small town of Erciş is situated. Its purpose remains problematical, partly because the construction was never completed, but left at the same preliminary stage over the whole site; nor was any of the site occupied: thus there is hardly any surface pottery. Two Urartian sherds were found, and also some later plain wheel-made red ware. The construction of the walls, however, with large stones along

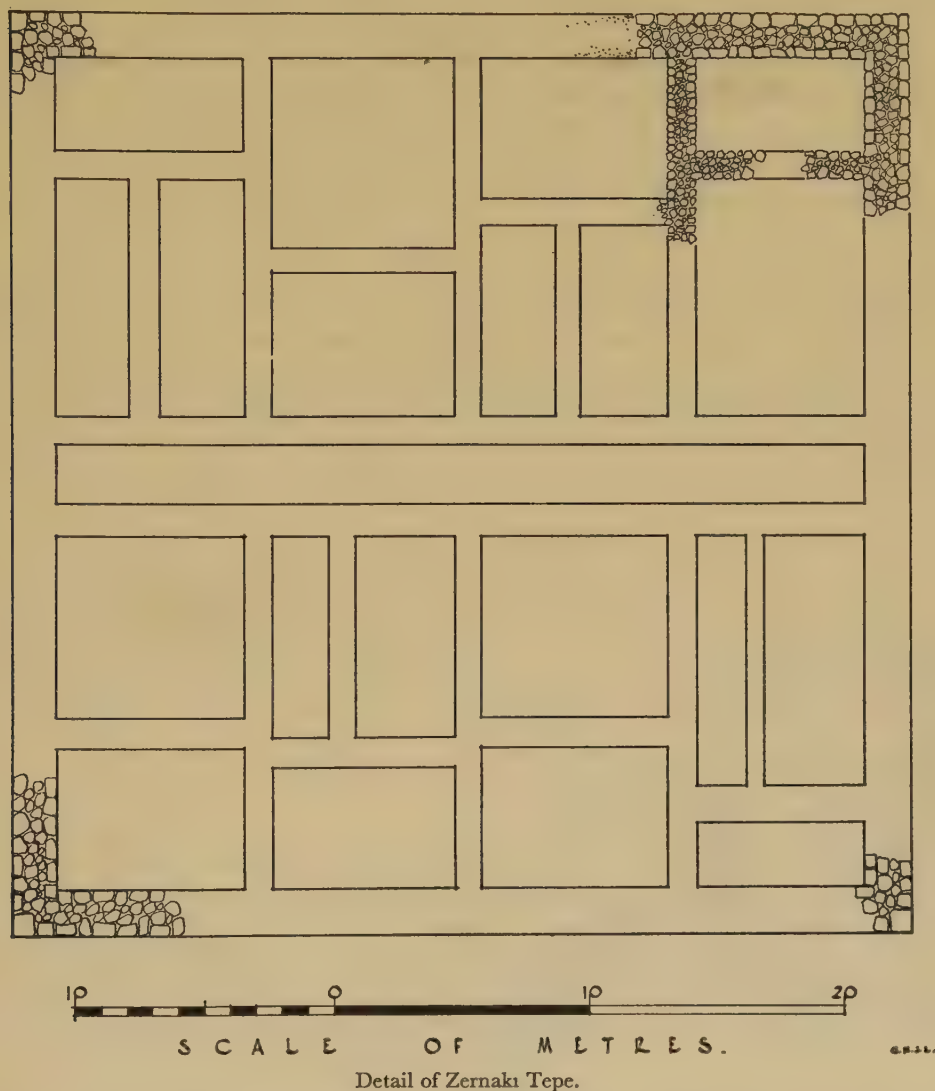


either face and particularly at the corners and rubble in the middle, together with their identical thickness, gives ground for a comparison with the walls of the Outer Town below the upper fortress at Anzaf, which is certainly Urartian. There is thus good reason to date this to the Urartian period, even though both the purpose that it was to have served and the cause of the abandonment of this grandiose design remain obscure.

In one area at the west side and again at the north end the walls have been extensively destroyed by ploughing. Each block was clearly intended to be square, and the fact that they vary from 35.00 m. (+) to 37.00 m. (+) can be accounted for by the unevenness of the ground. It was observed in one part of the site that a straight line could be drawn as diagonal across several successive blocks. At one place there is a cleft

in the natural rock, along the outer face of one of the blocks, indicating that the street was to be levelled by cutting through the rock outcrop.

The plan of the whole site shows that there are two main streets, wider than the normal street (about 7 m. instead of 5 m.), intersecting in the centre of the site. The walls are of an average thickness of 1.40 to



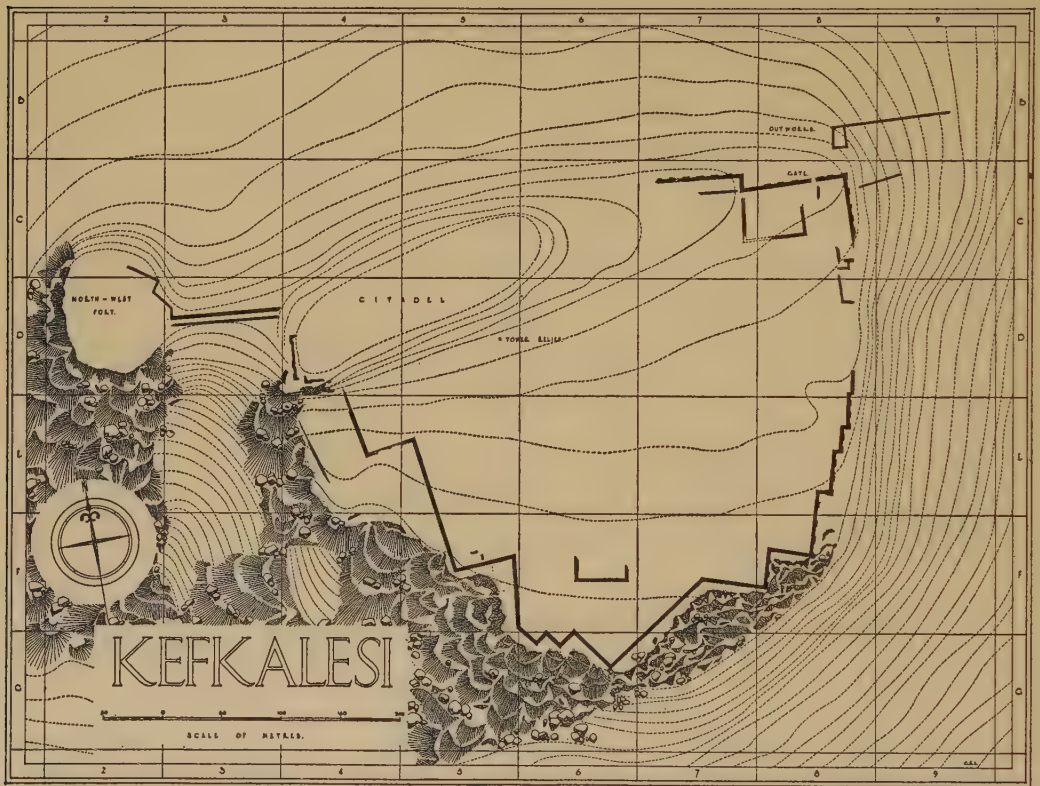
1.50 m., but the internal walls are narrower : yet even they are 1.00 to 1.10 m. thick. Not in all the blocks are the internal walls visible ; the detail of one of them shows how each was divided in two by a passage, with two sets of rooms on either side, comprising one squarish, two rectangular and two narrow. Although perfect symmetry between one set of rooms and the next was not achieved nor even perhaps attempted, the uniformity of lay-out of all the blocks is striking : four "houses" in each block had each ample living-space ; moreover, the thickness of the walls may indicate that there was intended to be an upper storey, in

which case one of the narrow "rooms" would presumably have been filled by the staircase. Such a possibility must not be ruled out, given the scale of the site and the size and number of rooms in each block.

It can be estimated that, allowing a conservative assessment of twenty persons per block, the population, if the site had ever been completed and occupied, would have been nearly 7,000. Probably it would have been twice that number. There was, however, one difficulty: there was a powerful spring at the foot of the hill; but the task of carrying up water for the population of such a town would have been most formidable, nor is there any trace of cisterns on the site itself. The vineyards mentioned in the inscription of Sarduri III nearby at İlan Taş¹² must have been in the valley where modern Erciş is situated.

KEFKALESİ

The size of this fortress is not matched by the present condition of its walls, which are very ruined, seldom standing more than 1 metre high.



The zig-zag course of the long circuit of the perimeter wall follows as close as possible to the edge of the hilltop, particularly at its precipitous south end; only where it approaches the west end of the Citadel (E4) does the line of the wall leave the edge of the escarpment. Except for

¹² Otherwise called Karataş. See *Handbuch*, nos. 109-110 (Vol. I, p. 21 and pl. 86; Vol. II, pp. 133-4).

part of one structure (F6), little remains of buildings within the great area south of the Citadel. Of the latter only the western extremity (D4) is visible on the surface. From just below this there stretches a double screen-wall (D3) towards the very ruined North-West Fort, of which little more than a pile of small stones remains, the line of the wall being only partly discernible. The purpose of the North-West Fort was presumably to ensure that this high ground so close to the Citadel did not fall into enemy hands. The basalt block found at the foot of the south slope of the Citadel, carved with the Tower Relief (D5), is a hint of the sculptural decoration of the most important part of a site which, from its position, might have been expected to lack such embellishment.¹³ Such traces of walls as were found just inside the Gate (C8) suggest that here at least was an area occupied by important buildings, though it seems unlikely that they extended over more than a small proportion of the total area of the fortress, the line of whose wall was dictated entirely by the lie of the land. West of the Gate and towards the point at which it must have joined the Citadel (C7) the north wall peters out. The Outworks (B8-9) may perhaps indicate that those who occupied this fortress did not always find it necessary or convenient to live within the perimeter. It was past here that the approach road must have come, as a modern track suggests.

KANCIKLI

This site is unusual in several ways, especially the occurrence of a large terraced area along much of the north-west side, a detail of which is published with the plan. The preservation of the walls and the lack of recent stone-robbing are themselves noteworthy. The Approach Road is

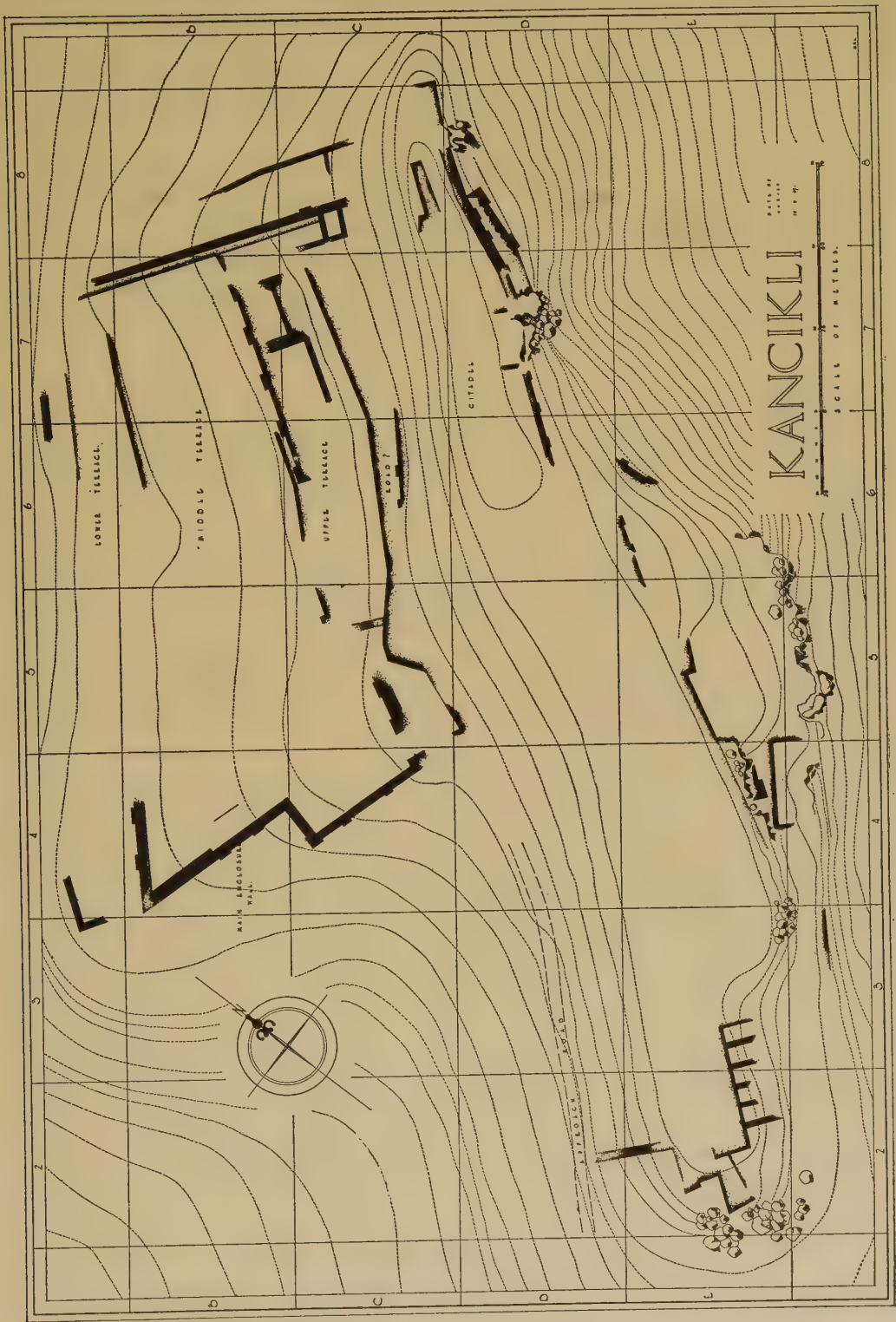


Elevation of existing tower wall and footing to upper terrace, Kancikli.

clearly discernible over a considerable stretch, and the Citadel extends for about 350 m. along the top of a narrow ridge, with plenty of soil, perhaps decayed mud brick, in which may be buried remains of a perimeter wall along the north-west side, overlooking the terraces. The wall along the top of the steep and rocky south-east side is more visible.

¹³ *AS. VIII* (1958), pp. 216-7.

Here the defences include a massive bastion, built up against the rock escarpment and reinforced with a footing of masonry (E₄) ; traces of an outer wall, some way down the hillside (E₆) ; a buttressed footing to the upper wall (D₈). The defences of the Citadel are carried along to either extremity of the hilltop : here is perhaps all that remains of a tower, one at each end. The purpose of the series of parallel walls running down the steep south-east slope at the south-west end of the Citadel (E₂₋₃) is not too clear : possibly they were casemate walls supporting a terraced extension of the Citadel. On the other side of the south-west extremity of the Citadel a screen wall ran down to the Approach Road below. Nothing remains visible of the defences of the Citadel on the long north-west side, except perhaps for a short stretch of wall with two buttresses (C₆). It was clear on the site that the north-east perimeter wall of the terraced enclosure, together with the thinner wall outside and parallel with it, continued up to the top of the steep slope of the Citadel at its north-east end (C₈). The purpose of the room (?) immediately inside the north-east perimeter wall at its highest surviving part is uncertain (C₈) ; but it may possibly serve to indicate that at least some part of the terraced area was occupied by buildings, as is likewise shown by the walls within the area of the Upper Terrace, at its north-east end (B₇ and C₇). Where, if at all, the Approach Road ascended to the top of the Citadel is uncertain ; but, if it did so, it must have been towards the north-east end (C₇). The function of the terraced enclosure is not too clear, for, though there are traces of buildings, and the care with which both the terrace walls and the perimeter wall were constructed suggests that the enclosure was intended primarily for habitation, nevertheless the absence of any indication of walls on the Middle and Lower Terrace, and the protrusion of bedrock on the former, tend to suggest that those two terraces may have been used merely for gardens. If so, the houses to which they belonged may have been confined to the Upper Terrace. The acute-angled return of the Main Enclosure Wall on the south-west side, at its lower end (B₄), and the massiveness of its construction compared with that of the surviving corner of a wall outside and just below it (A₄), suggest that this outside stretch of wall, together with that running parallel with and outside the north-east perimeter wall, represents an addition to the original terraced enclosure ; the Lower Terrace may itself have been such an addition. That alterations were made is also indicated by the manner in which the north-east perimeter wall was doubled in thickness, although the addition remained unbonded into the original masonry : this is particularly visible along the stretch marking the end of the Middle Terrace (B₇). The best preserved and most impressive feature of the whole site is the retaining wall of the Upper Terrace (C₇₋₆ and B₆), of which a detail is published, being that part in C₆ and B₆. The purpose of the footing which runs along the whole length of this wall was presumably structural, though it would have strengthened it against mining in a siege. This use of footings is peculiar to Kancıklı. It is impossible to be sure of the significance of the remains of a massive buttressed wall at



the south-east corner of the terraced enclosure (C5), although the proximity of the Approach Road would make this a natural area for a fortified gateway.

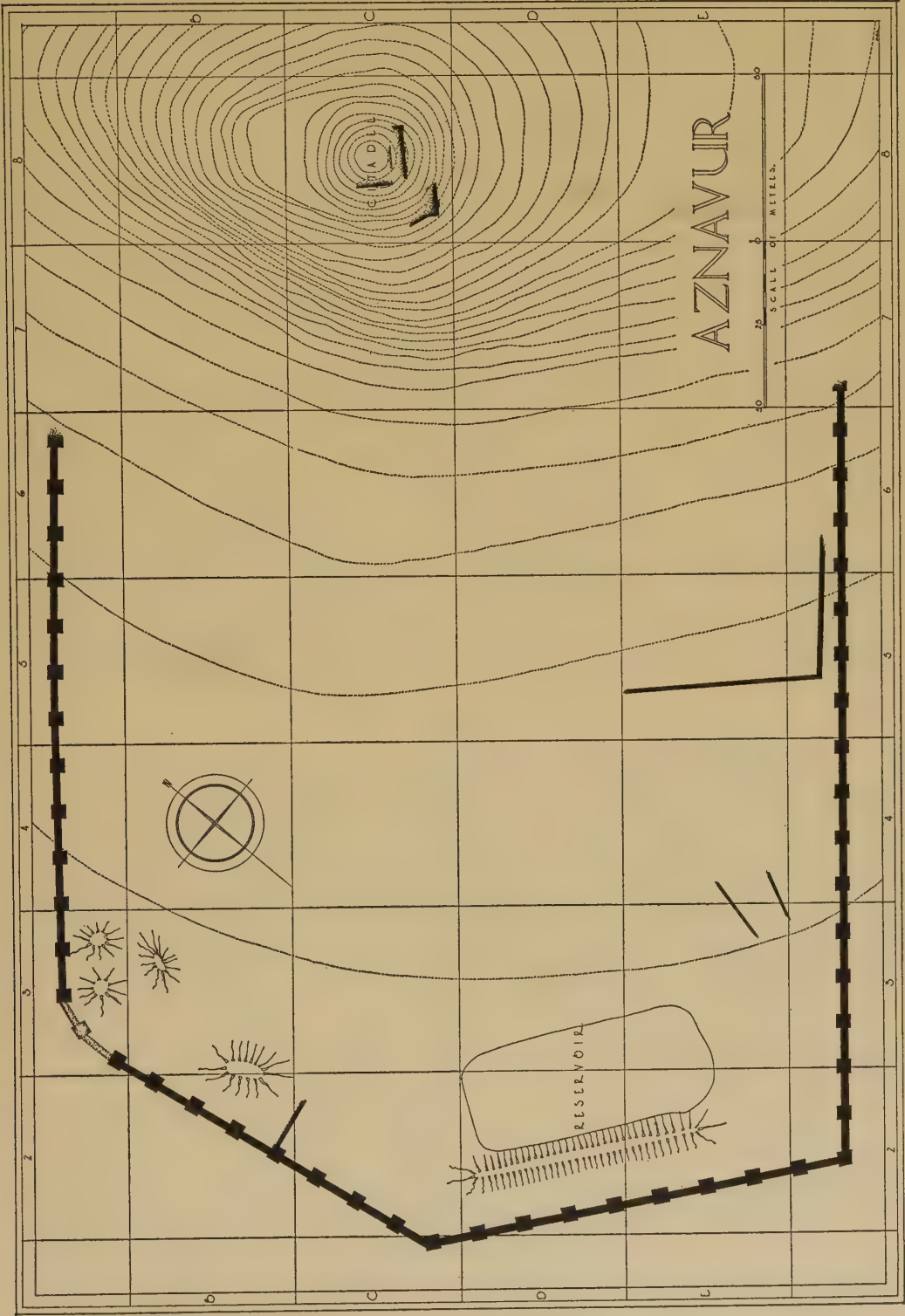
In conclusion, it may be said that the main buildings of this fortified site were probably on the Citadel and also on the Upper Terrace. Well outside the fortified area and off the plan, to the south-east, were remains of a building, probably a house, of similar construction to the Urartian fortress. This, and the discovery of the inscribed basalt base of a stele with a text of Menua,¹⁴ now in the village of Kamışvan some two miles from Kancıklı, makes it likely that there was an Urartian town near the fortress: perhaps it was in the valley below, since the ridge on which the Citadel is built has insufficient area for a town.

AZNAVUR

The character and situation of this fortified site give it the appearance of a military camp rather than a town. It comprises a large lower enclosure and a fortified citadel or keep, on a hilltop about 900 feet above. The best preserved and most prominent feature of the site is the enclosure wall, which is 3.70 to 3.90 m. thick and built in the usual Urartian manner, with large stones along each face and rather smaller stones or rubble in the middle: the hard stone used (andesite?) is not found in the immediate vicinity. The towers, built at more or less uniform intervals of about 20 m. along the enclosure wall, are approximately square, though their dimensions vary from about 8.00 to about 8.80 m., and some are rectangular rather than square: they have a clear face on all four sides, suggesting that they were built as self-contained units of masonry within the wall. Very probably the towers were built of stone up to a greater height than the wall, which may well have resembled Karmir-Blur, in having a stone footing not more than two or three courses high, surmounted by mud brick. Some of the towers are filled fairly solidly with rough stones, but others are filled with rubble and earth: all, however, have large stones along all four faces. There is nowhere any conclusive evidence of a gateway, although it might possibly have been at the north end of that stretch of the wall which runs almost due north-south, where the corner was cut off by a short length of wall now badly destroyed (A3); but this is quite uncertain, and, since the wall is nowhere preserved more than two courses high, the gateway could have been at any point. Towards the upper end of the enclosure the wall peters out (A6 and F7). The perimeter wall to the north-east has either disappeared or been buried; but almost certainly it took advantage of the natural contours to turn inwards and up the ridge to the hilltop, where stands the Citadel (C8).

Within the enclosure the most prominent feature is a long narrow mound (D2 and E2) associated with a depression immediately to the north-east, both undoubtedly artificial. By local tradition this mound

¹⁴ *Handbuch*, no. 140 (Vol. II, pp. 165-6 find pl. 111).



covers the tomb of a chieftain, supposedly of medieval date; but a far more plausible suggestion is that made by Mr. Seton Lloyd, namely, that the depression marks a cistern or reservoir, contemporary with the fortifications, the mound being simply the spoil-heap from the excavation of the reservoir, which was so placed as to take the fullest advantage of the catchment-area. This theory explains how so waterless a site could be chosen for so large a stronghold. A group of small mounds at one corner of the enclosure (A3 and B2-3) indicates the position of buildings. There are traces of terraces within the enclosure, not far below the foot of the Citadel hill, and the thickness of the visible internal walls (such as that in E5 and F5) indicates structures of considerable size. But it is doubtful to what extent the enclosure was occupied by houses or other buildings; the comparative scarcity of surface pottery does not suggest that more than a small proportion of the area was so.

Surface pottery was rather more abundant on the slopes of the Citadel, and seemed to be of late Urartian type, perhaps seventh- rather than eighth-century in date. Only on part of two sides can the uppermost wall of the Citadel (C8) be traced. This seems to stand near the top of a hill that may have been to some degree artificially built up with a masonry revetment. A little further down the steep hillside to the south there is visible a corner-tower of a lower defensive wall. Perhaps the whole Citadel comprised a series of masonry platforms built up against the natural rock of the hill. Just to the north of the Citadel, not far below the summit, there is a squarish level area, possibly part of the fortifications.

BOSTANKAYA

This fortress is not large, but it must have been of some importance, if only on account of the Shrine at its foot (B5). The rock on which the Citadel stands is precipitous on every side except the north-east, from which direction alone it is easily accessible. Not much remains of the masonry of the main fortress, except along the north-east side (B4 and C4); but elsewhere the outermost in the series of rock-cut ledges gives the approximate line of the wall-face. On the west side, except at the south end, there is an earth slope, and only a little masonry is visible (C3). The rock-cut ledges, originally suggested to be the result of quarrying,¹⁵ are in fact the bedding for blocks of masonry. The explanation of the multiplicity of ledges is as follows: these ledges run in lengths that change direction according to the line of the wall, in turn being determined by the edge of the escarpment; there are several parallel ledges along each length, these being cut to provide a bedding for a masonry platform, built all round the top of the rock. The Citadel would have been a flat platform, its central portion simply the natural rock cut flat, as can be seen in places now, and extended on either side by masonry: thus there would have been a great height of wall revetting this platform. There is at present a thin layer of earth, nowhere more than 1 m. deep, over most of the top

¹⁵ AS. VII, pp. 41 and 51.



of the rock. A major transverse wall within the Citadel is suggested by ledges on a rock about 50 m. from the south end (C3). Just to the east is a small cistern (D3), which must have been not more than 2 m. from the inner face of the perimeter wall. At the foot of the south end, on the south-west side, are remains of part of the Lower Defences of the site (D2); there are also similar traces to the south-east, suggesting that there was a wall right round the foot of the rock. Several small springs along the east side may well have been enclosed.

The Shrine (B5) resembles those on the castle-rock of Van: like those, only the outline as cut out of the rock remains. The Shrine appears to be orientated to the north-east, facing the long, smoothly dressed rock-face, which runs approximately from north-west to south-east: in this rock-face is the Niche for Offerings, a recess with two ledges, too high to be steps, and possibly serving as an altar as well as an offering-place. There are steps, at right-angles to the rock-face. Ledges on the south-east side suggest that the rock platform was extended a short distance in that direction with masonry. The Rock-Cut Steps (B5), at the north-east limit of the area of the Shrine, lead down to the south-east. The Major Building indicated on the plan is strongly suggested by surface evidence, including the fragment of a remarkably massive wall, running up to the corner of the Shrine (C5). It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that this might be a temple. There is no evidence of the situation of the cistern whose construction is recorded by Menua, the greatest builder of the Urartian dynasty, in an inscription found close to the site.¹⁶

¹⁶ *Handbuch*, no. 39 (Vol. I, pp. 8 and 71, and pl. 34).

THE YAKUPOĞLU KONAK

AN OLD TURKISH HOUSE AT SÜRMENE KASTIL

By

D. WINFIELD, M. Q. SMITH, SELINA BALLANCE and ANN POWELL

OTTOMAN TOWN HOUSES of the later 19th century still exist in considerable numbers throughout the bounds of the Empire, and a number of them have received the attention of students. Remains of houses of an earlier date are much less common, and the development of the country house or *konak* in the years succeeding the age of castles is as yet imperfectly understood.

Although the rich and fertile lands of the Empire of Trebizond had been firmly under Ottoman control since the end of the 15th century, many castles were still inhabited in the 19th century. The majority of the many country houses that remain along the shore of the Black Sea near Trebizond (*Trabzon*) are no more than seventy-five years old. Not far from Trebizond itself are the foundations and slight ruins of a 16th or 17th century *konak*, the proper study of which would entail excavation. The members of the 1958 Walker Trust Expedition had, however, the opportunity of visiting a *konak* older than most of the rest, built at about three miles east of Sürmene in the village of Sürmene Kastil. (Kastil is not a word of Turkish origin, and is perhaps derived from "castello", a memorial of Genoese and Venetian trading interests in the middle ages.) The exact history of the *konak* is unknown, but the villagers agree that it was built by a member of the family of Yakupoğlu (a surname borne by the present occupants, and by many others in the area) about 150 years ago.

This period was one of weak central government, and it is probable that the Sürmene Kastil *konak* was built by the then head of the Yakupoğlu family, who in his position as owner of the lands in the surrounding area would have been the *derebeyi* or virtual ruler of the district. It is therefore of particular interest that the house was designed partly for defensive purposes: it combines some of the advantages of a castle with the comforts of a lordling's house.

The plan of the *konak* shows the four wings projecting from the central square. The three entrances to the building, in the east, west and north walls, are thus outflanked by these wings. Similar projections (*cumba*), generally of the first floor rooms, are a common feature of Ottoman houses. The three pairs of wooden doors are strongly constructed, hanging on fine, boldly designed iron hinges (Pl. XXVc). The walls are built of thirty-six courses of roughly cut rectangular blocks of a local stone. Dressed blocks are used only to form the facings for windows, where a yellow stone is used. Fenestration in the ground floor is limited to a slit window in the south-west wing; there are other slit windows in the first storey. The east and west doors are used by the inhabitants, while the

north door gives cattle access to the dark northern parts of the interior. Local tradition is that the wings were used as prisons. The south-western one is lit by a single slit window, and there are niches in the walls; it was probably a servant's room. The central part of the ground floor was probably the servants' area. Cooking is done in a spacious fire-place on the south side, which has a long flue leading straight up to the chimney

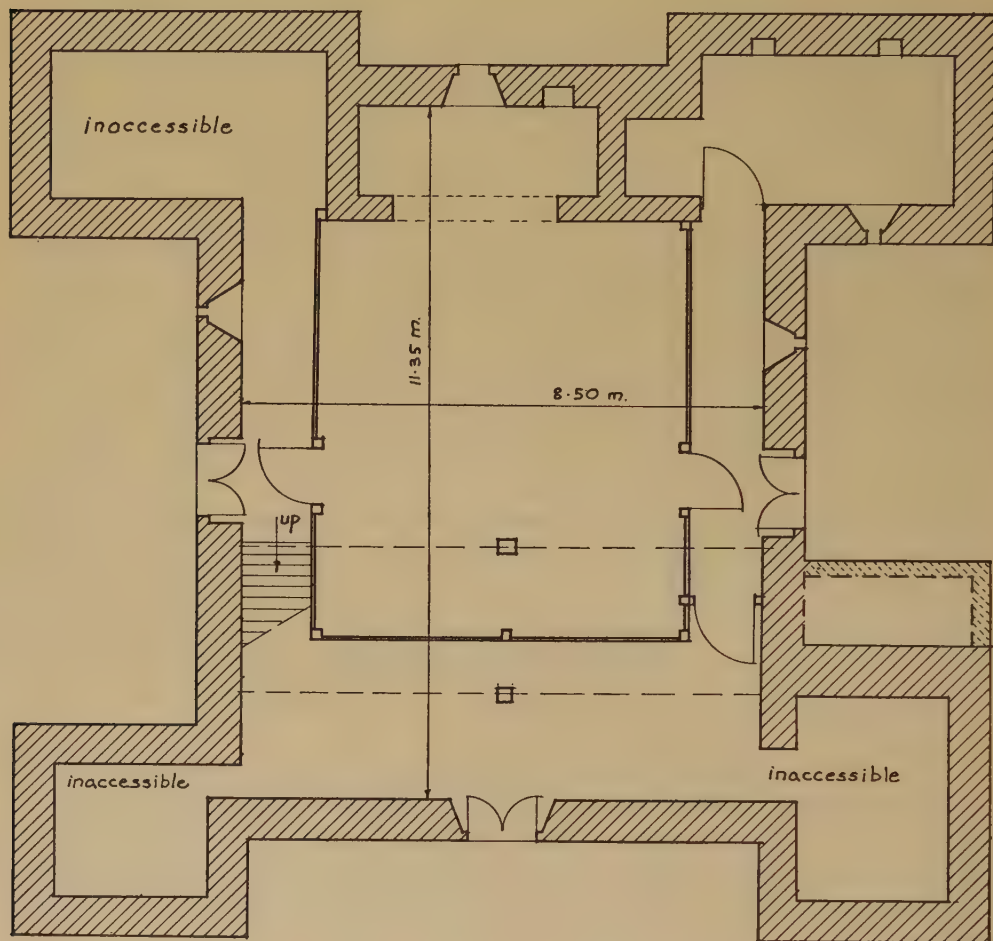


FIG. 1.—Ground Floor Plan.

on the roof (Pl. XXVb). The floor is of earth throughout, and the central space is separated from the corridors to the wings and from the northern parts by walls of planks. To the north of the east door a steep flight of stairs leads to the first floor.

Apart from the stonework on the south side containing the fire-place, chimney and bath, the whole of the interior structure—floors, ceilings and partitions—is of wood. On the north, seaward side, a timber frame construction is used from the first storey upwards. This type of building, called *dolma*, is common throughout Anatolia, the infilling varying



(a) View from seashore, showing the *konak* on left.



(b) The West front of the house.



(a) The North front of the house, which faces the sea.



(b) Oblique view showing the overhanging eaves and a modern repair of masonry in the north-west angle.



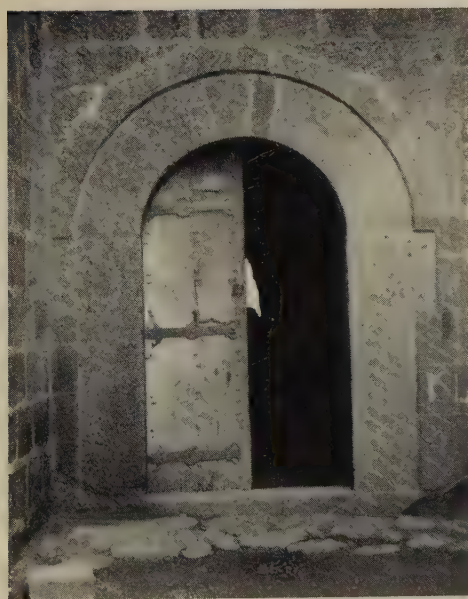
(c) Detail of the exterior, north side, showing construction of the wall and types of shuttering and window bars.



(a) South-east room, first floor : carving in white stone.



(b) Ground floor : the kitchen fire.



(c) Entrance on west side of *konak*.



(d) Detail of lower panel of door to west central room from the *sofa*.



(a) White stone carving, fireplace, and "lazy holes", north-west room.



(b) Centre of ceiling, north-west room.

according to the material locally available. The *Sürmene konak* has simple square spaces filled with stone, both stone and woodwork being plastered over inside and out except for the main horizontal beams that mark the divisions of the storeys. Other houses in the area have much more complex and intricate woodwork, displaying the capabilities of local carpenters, who are also famed for their present-day skill in the related craft of boat building. The first floor has a slight overhang formed by the double row of timbers, which are carved with a simple, repetitive

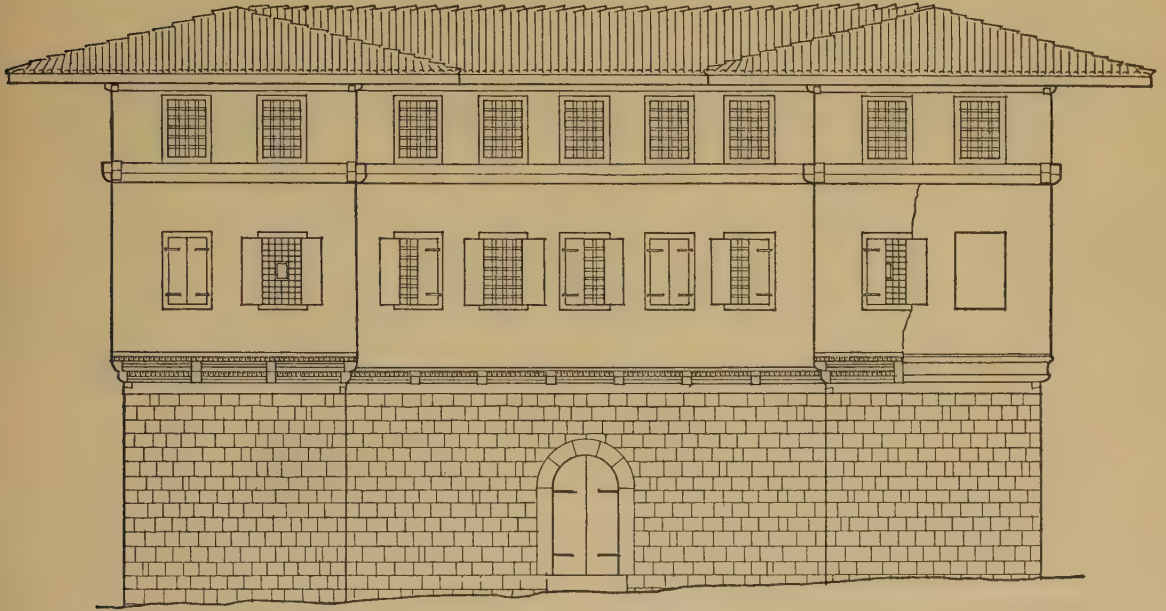


FIG. 2.—North Elevation.

pattern. The roof is a complex timber construction with a large overhang. The tiles are placed on wooden slats fixed to the major beams. Beneath the roof is a considerable attic open to the roofing slats and ventilated by windows with wooden bars. It is reached by ladder through a trapdoor, and is now used for the storage of fodder and fuel for the winter. A thorough survey was interrupted, and the sad state of the timbers demonstrated, by the fall of a member of our party through the ceiling of the room below.

The living quarters are all on the first floor, and it is on these rooms that all the decoration has been lavished ; this part of the house must have been more comfortable to live in than any castle. The largest room is the reception room or *sofa*. The staircase leading into it from below has a decoratively carved newel post, and the well space is separated from the room by a low balustrade. The staircase can be closed by lowering a large trapdoor, so that the whole of the upper part of the house is sealed from the ground floor. The *sofa* is an oblong room with five windows overlooking the sea. They have plain wooden shutters on the

outside ; the window frames are fitted with rounded wooden bars, five horizontals crossed by three verticals, with polyhedrons at each joint, a pattern common throughout the Ottoman Empire for a long period. There is no sign that these windows ever had glass. Below the windows and running the length of the outer wall at a height of about 50 cm. there appears to have been a window seat. The interior walls are of large

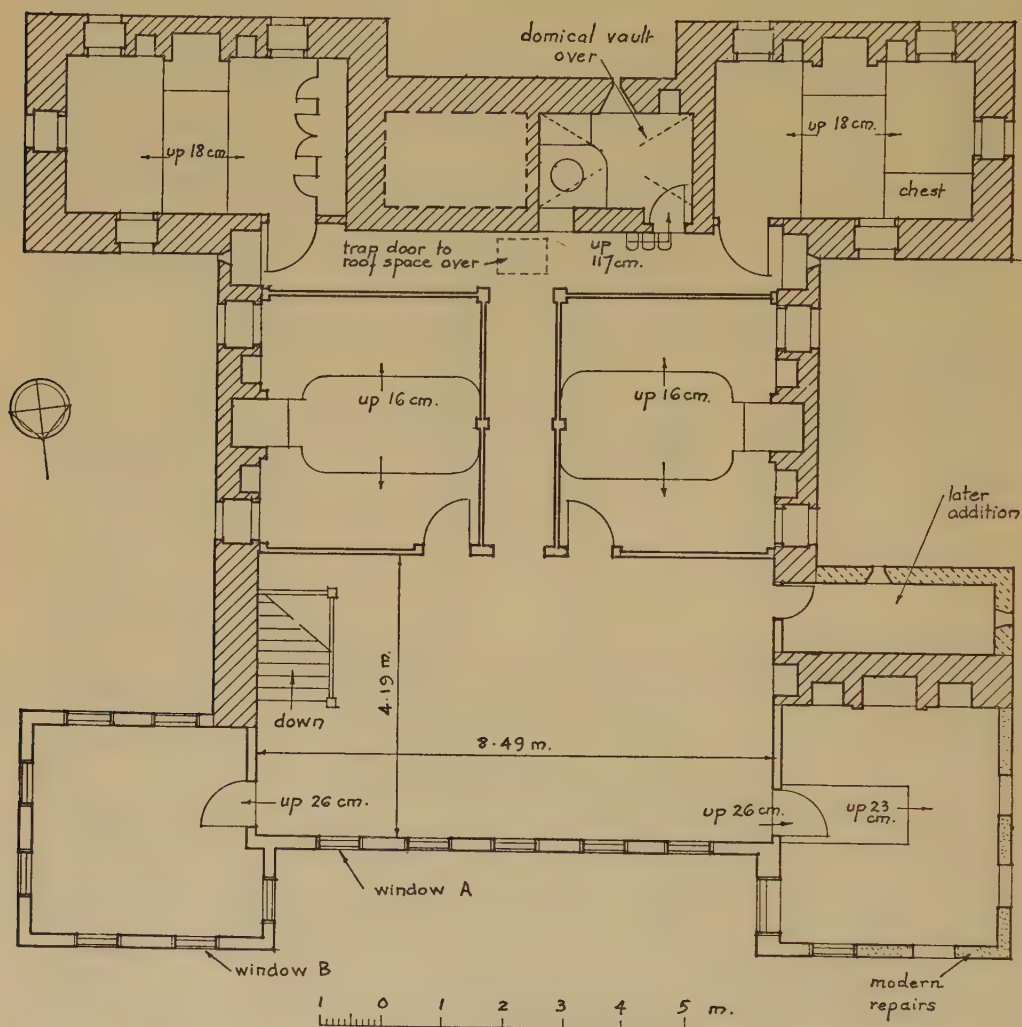


FIG. 3.—First Floor Plan.

chestnut planks laid horizontally, fixed by vertical pilaster strips. The centre of the south wall is taken up by a fine woodwork panel, composed of three round-arched doorways set in a rectangular frame. The central door, which is painted but not elaborately carved, leads to a corridor running through to the rooms on the south side of the house. The side doors are well carved in low relief (Pl. XXVd), and open into the two central rooms which have windows facing east and west respectively. The door to the north-west room also has carved panels. In the west wall of the

sofa are a niche with a stone washbasin and the door with carved panels to the lavatory. A large wooden chest formerly stood against this wall. The floor and ceiling are of chestnut, the latter being decorated with an overall pattern of crossed slats.

There are six other principal rooms on the first floor. As is usual in Turkish houses, there is no indication of function, since each room was used indifferently for eating, sleeping and sitting in. It is likely that the seaward facing rooms on the north side of the house, including the *sofa*, made up the *selamlık* or quarter for the reception of guests and transaction of business. These rooms are the most elaborately decorated, and even in decay have considerable charm. The outer corner of the north-west room has recently been rebuilt with sand and cement blocks, and it is probable that the lavatory next door has been altered. Only one of the original windows of the room survives; it has double wooden shutters outside, heavy wooden bars with saw tooth edges and glass in a separate frame in the interior, an arrangement adopted in the north-east room also. The ceiling is finely carved in a high relief of floral and leaf patterns in a geometric design. The central section revolves, probably to regulate ventilation. This and the north-east room have plastered walls, painted with friezes of stylised flowers in vases. The vases are of different shapes, each about 50 cm. high, and rest on elaborate stands of stylised leaves. In addition, the north-east room has varied fruits painted higher on the walls. The colours used are bluish-green, yellow and red.

Each of the six rooms, except the north-east, has an elaborately carved stone fire-place. The fire-places themselves are made of a yellowish-brown stone, and the surrounds of white. The bases of the chimneys, *ocak yasmağı* or *davlumbaz*, do not swell into conical projections as in many old Turkish houses, but are flat and protrude only slightly into the rooms. The decoration consists of a version of the honeycomb moulding for the cornices (similar to that on the beams forming the cornice below the north front of the first storey), various spiral interlace patterns in the borders, while the major spaces are filled with stylised flowers, frequently the traditional Turkish tulip and rosette patterns, and occasionally hanging lamps as on prayer rugs. The north-western and central rooms have two niches on either side of the fire-place, an open lower niche below one of the same size divided by a central column (Pl. XXVIa). The fire-places in the southern rooms have only a single niche (Pl. XXVa). These niches, called *tenbel deliği* or *takçegöz*, literally "lazy hole", were used for keeping within easy reach such things as pipes and coffee cups. All are close to the floor compared to shelving in European houses, but it must be remembered that the Turkish custom was to recline on cushions. These were placed on the slightly raised platforms round the walls, which leave a depression in the centre of the floor running from the fire-place, except in the north-west room where it runs from the door of the *sofa*. The north-east room has no depression in the floor, but the boards at the centre are placed in the pattern of a square divided into four equal triangles.

The central rooms on the east and west sides of the house have no distinguishing features except for a wooden shelf round the walls at the height of the top of the fire-place. This is supported by decoratively shaped brackets which serve also as pegs. Only one bracket remains in the central west room. This type of shelf was a standard feature in old Turkish houses and is known as a *terek*.

The central corridor leads from the *sofa* to the rooms on the southern, inland side of the house which probably constituted the *harem*. Leading from the corridor, near the south side of the centre of the house, are steps up to a small Turkish bath with a domical vault. The fire to heat the water was stoked from a niche in the corridor. There is a local tradition of torture when the room was used as a prison by the Russians in the First World War. Above the T junction of the corridor is the trapdoor to the attic. At either end of the corridor are stone washbasins set in niches, draining through stone pipes to the exterior of the house. Above each niche is a slit window.

The central and southern rooms have iron bars on the exterior of the windows, and double wooden shutters within. There is no sign that they were glazed. Both southern rooms had a shelf running round two walls. The doors to each room are made of three plain wooden planks set vertically, secured on the inside by horizontal wooden bars at the top and bottom, and on the outside by two wrought iron bars which form the hinges. These are fastened by round-headed iron nails, the large heads of which form a decorative pattern. The door handles are made of circular discs of iron with a central clasp from which hangs the ring. The keyholes are of iron in the shape of tulip flowers. The south-east room still retains a large fitted wooden cupboard, carved in low relief with tulip designs and rope interlaces. This was the bedding and general storage cupboard known as the *yüklük*. It was by using such cupboards and chests that the Turks were able to avoid tying the rooms of their houses to any one function. Mattress, quilt and cushions took the place of bedstead and chairs, and when food was wanted a folding wooden frame, known as a *sofra iskemlesi* was put out, and a large circular tray of copper or brass placed on it to form a table.

The Sürmene Kastil *konak* has many similarities of detail with other old houses throughout the bounds of the Ottoman Empire: the overhanging eaves, window shuttering and bars, the carved ceiling and general arrangement of the rooms, the *dolma* half-timber work can be compared with similar features elsewhere. But there are features which are perhaps peculiar to the district and period. The fire-places are of a type not found outside the area; Ihsan Nemli Bey has saved an example from his destroyed family *konak* in Trebizond, and a few others exist in other houses in the neighbourhood. The Sürmene Kastil *konak* shows many similarities with Tudor domestic architecture, which also succeeded an age of living in castles. The house is in part designed for defence; unwelcome visitors could easily be restrained from entering. But the owner lived in relative comfort, in surroundings lavishly decorated with carved

wood and stone, with painted walls and a rich ceiling. The craftsmanship is always competent, and the designs are firm, well articulated and do not degenerate into incoherence. The *konak* was built at the end of an age when fortification was of prime importance, but its comfortable rooms and pleasant windows foreshadow the elegance of the later 19th century many-windowed houses that still exist in great numbers along the coast of the Black Sea. The house as a whole retains a grandeur and masculine majesty not seen in later examples. It is sad that it is in imminent danger of destruction.

NEW URARTIAN INSCRIBED STONES AT ANZAF

By P. HULIN

ANZAF ¹ LIES APPROXIMATELY north-east of the modern town of Van, and rather less than ten miles from it by road ; it is just off, and south-east of, the main road which leads from Van to Erçek and beyond in the direction of the modern frontier between Turkey and Iran and of the high mountains west of Khoi. Three published Urartian inscriptions, all of Menua, are described as having come from Anzaf ; ² and there are, in the neighbourhood of the village, remains of two anciently walled places ; ³ one is on an eminence (from which Lake Erçek is visible) above, and close to, the village, which it conceals from the main road ; the other is on the other side of the main road, about a mile distant from the village on the way to Van.

In September 1957 two unpublished stones, inscribed in the Urartian language, were reported ⁴ from Anzaf to the writer, who accordingly inspected them. ⁵ One of the stones, lying on a slope of the eminence above and close to the village, proved to bear a six-line inscription of Menua, differing only slightly ⁶ from that appearing thrice on a stone from Anzaf in the Georgian Museum, Tiflis. ⁷ The stone (Pl. XXVIIb, and p. 206, Fig. 1⁸) is broken off on all surfaces except that bearing the inscription ; it has a maximum preserved width of 1.01 m., a maximum preserved height of .55 m. and a maximum preserved thickness of .36 m. ; the width of the inscription is .87 m. and its height .24 m.

The other stone, according to the account of the villager who claimed to have dug it up, had come from a well of hewn stones, situated where there is now a pool for animals, just below the more distant from the village of the two ancient sites (Pl. XXVIIa) ; it was during the digging of this pool, said the villager, that the inscription was unearthed. The stone (Pl. XXVIIc, and p. 206, Fig. 2) is circular, with a maximum preserved height of .18 m. ; the lower surface is broken off ; and the upper surface, with

¹ Marked Angaf on the quarter-inch map GSGS 3919, sheet J38H, 2nd edition, 1942.

² *HChI.* 46, 55a, 72.

³ Described and sketch-planned by C. A. Burney, *AS.* VII (1957), 38, 40, 44-5, with photographs of parts of them *ibid.* Pl. IV (*b*) and (*a*), under the names Upper Anzaf Kale and Lower Anzaf Kale ; and again with measured plans in the present volume, pp. 178-180.

⁴ By Mr. C. A. Burney, who also kindly conveyed to the writer the report of the discovery of the circular stone by the villager who claimed to have found it.

⁵ The writer thanks the Turkish central and local authorities and the authorities of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara for helping him to make the journey which included this visit to Anzaf, the Trustees of the Arnold Historical Essay Fund of the University of Oxford and the Council of the British Academy for helping to meet his expenses in making it, and Mr. E. W. F. Tomlin for practical help in the course of the visit.

⁶ Perhaps, originally, not differing at all—see note 9 below.

⁷ *HChI.* 46.

⁸ The rulings cut above, between, and below the lines of the inscriptions are omitted in the copies.

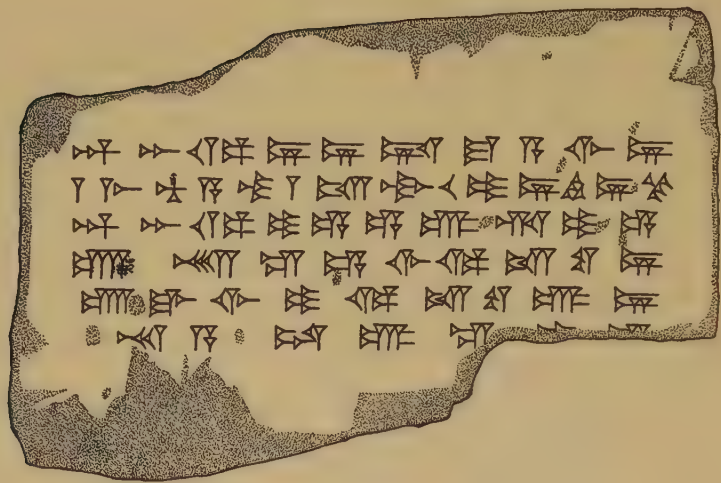


FIG. 1.

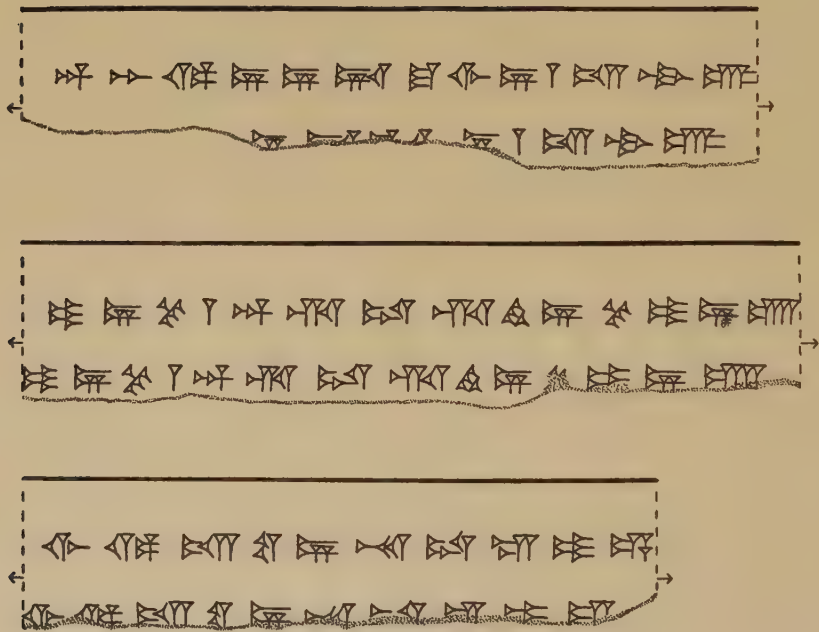


FIG. 2.

a diameter of .89 m., has a centrally placed flat circular projection .66 m. in diameter and .003 m. in height, conceivably intended to function as a base for a column (or something else) above, from the foot of which the projection would allow rain or other moisture to drip or flow free to avoid rotting. From the edge of the upper surface downward, the stone has an uninscribed portion .05 m. in height, a line of cuneiform inscription .035 m. in height, an uninscribed portion .035 m. in height, and a second line of cuneiform inscription .035 m. in height; the break around the stone is irregular and occurs in, or just above, or just below, the second line of cuneiform inscription, which, as far as it is preserved, duplicates the first. The inscription is in the name of Ishpuini, and is therefore among the earliest surviving inscriptions on stone in the Urartian language.

There follow transliterations and translations, first of the inscription of Menua (No. 1), then of that of Ishpuini (No. 2).

No. 1

DINGIR	<i>hal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-a-ši-ni</i>	Through Haldi's might
^I	<i>me-nu-a-še iš-pu-u-i-ni-ḫi-ni-še</i>	Menua, son of Ishpuini,
DINGIR	<i>hal-di-i-e e-ú-ri-i-e</i>	to Haldi, the lord,
É	<i>su-si-e ši-di-iš-tú-ni</i>	a building ⁹ , a shrine has set up,
5 É.GAL	<i>ši-i-di-iš-tú-ú-ni</i>	5 a stronghold he has set up,
	<i>ba-a-du-ú-si-ḫi-e</i>	(a) noble(?) ¹⁰ (stronghold).

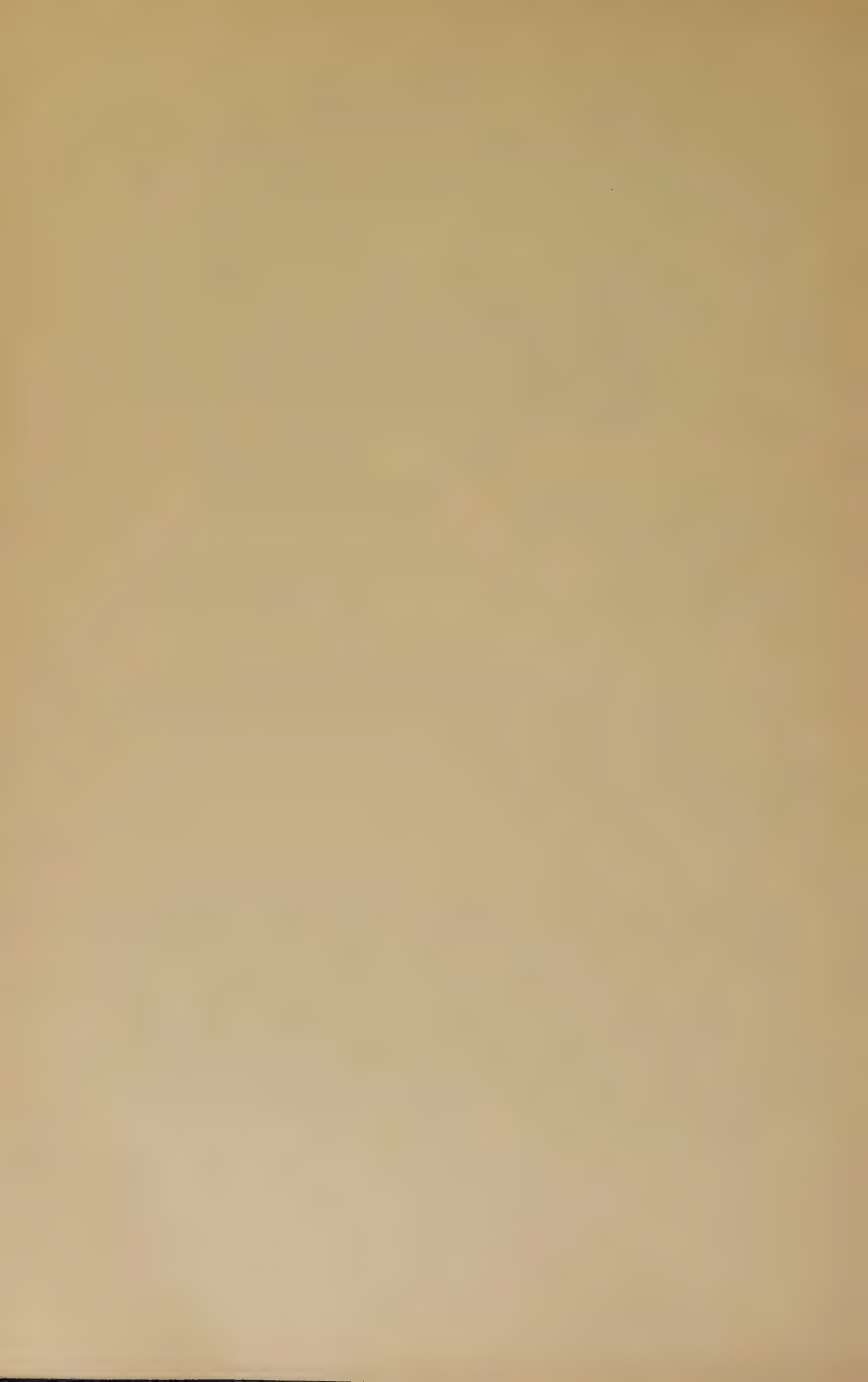
No. 2

1 DINGIR	<i>hal-di-ni-ni uš-ma-ši-ni iš-pu-ú-i-ni-še</i>	^I DINGIR	<i>sar₅-du-ri-ḫi-ni-še i-ni É ši-</i>
2	<i>.....]ḫi-ni uš-ma-ši-ni iš-pu-ú-i-ni-še</i>	^I DINGIR	<i>sar₅-du-ri-ḫi-ni-še i-ni É ši-</i>
1 (cont.)	<i>di-iš-tú-ni ba-du-si-i-e</i>		
2 (cont.)	<i>di-iš-tú-ni ba-ḫi-du-si-i-e</i>		

Through Haldi's might Ishpuini, son of Sarduri, this building has set up, (a) noble(?)¹⁰ (building).

⁹ This collocation of É and *su-si-e* is unexampled elsewhere in known Urartian texts; and the otherwise almost identical text from Anzaf at Tiflis (*HChI.* 46) has, like a stone from Malazgirt (*HChI.* 47) whose inscription includes the wording of these two Anzaf texts, the better intelligible *i-ni su-si-e*, "this shrine". The vertical wedges of É can be seen to be cut deep into the stone, as if perhaps to obliterate something previously incised; and close inspection of an enlarged photograph shows a slight depression at the lower right of the first vertical where the middle horizontal of *i* would have begun, a similar slight depression at the lower right of the third vertical where the lower horizontal of *ni* would have begun, traces of what may have been the verticals of *ni* before and after the fourth vertical, and marks to the right of the fourth vertical which may be traces of the right-hand parts of the horizontals of *ni*. These indications suggest that the stone may originally have borne *i-ni*, altered afterwards to É for a reason not clear to the present writer.

¹⁰ *AS.* VIII (1958), 244, n. 26.





(a) The Anzaf pool, and the ancient site just above it, showing two lengths of walling.



(b) The new stone of Menua.



(c) The new stone of Ishpuini.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR.	Annual of American Schools of Oriental Research.	KBo.	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi.
Afo.	Archiv für Orientforschung.	KUB.	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.
AJA.	American Journal of Archaeology.	KIF.	Kleinasiatische Forschungen.
AJSL.	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.	LAAS.	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, Liverpool.
AJ.	Antiquaries' Journal.	MAMA.	Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua.
ANET.	Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts.	MAOG.	Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft.
Annuario	Annuario della Regia Scuola Italiana di Atene.	MDOG.	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft.
AOr.	Archiv Orientalny.	MIFAO.	Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale.
APAW.	Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.	MJ.	Museum Journal, Philadelphia.
AS.	Anatolian Studies.	MVAG.	Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft.
Ath. Mit.	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.	OEGT.	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts.
BASOR.	Bulletin of American Schools of Oriental Research.	OGI.	Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
BCH.	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique.	OIC.	Oriental Institute, Chicago, Communications.
Belleten	Türk Tarih Kurumu: Belleten.	OIP.	Oriental Institute, Publications.
BGA.	Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum.	OIS.	Oriental Institute, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.
BIE.	Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte.	OIAS.	Oriental Institute, Assyriological Studies.
BIFAO.	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie Orientale.	OLZ.	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
BSA.	Annual of the British School at Athens.	PEQ.	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
BSOAS.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies.	PIR.	Prosopographia Imperii Romani.
BSR.	Papers of the British School at Rome.	PZ.	Prähistorische Zeitschrift.
BZ.	Byzantinische Zeitschrift.	QDAP.	Quarterly of Dept. of Antiquities in Palestine.
CAH.	Cambridge Ancient History.	R.	Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.
CIA.	Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum.	RArch.	Revue archéologique.
CIG.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.	RAss.	Revue d'Assyriologie.
CIL.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.	RCEA.	Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe.
CT.	Cuneiform Texts, British Museum.	RE.	Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realencyclopädie.
CVA.	Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum.	REI.	Revue des Études Islamiques.
Δελτ.	Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.	RHA.	Revue Hittite et Asiatique.
DTCFD.	Dil ve Tarih-Cografya Fakültesi Dergisi.	RLA.	Reallexikon der Assyriologie.
El.	Encyclopaedia of Islam.	RLV.	Ebert, M., Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte.
*Εφ. Ἀρχ.	Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς	ROL.	Revue de l'Orient Latin.
GAG.	von Soden, Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik.	Röm. Mit.	Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
IEJ.	Israel Exploration Journal.	SEG.	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
IG.	Inscriptiones Graecae.	SIG.	Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
IGR.	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.	SS.	Schmidt, H., Heinrich Schliemanns Sammlung trojanischer Altertümer.
ILN.	Illustrated London News.	TAM.	Tituli Asiae Minoris.
ILS.	Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.	TCL.	Textes Cunéiformes, Louvre.
JA.	Journal Asiatique.	TK.	La Turquie Kénaliste.
JAOS.	Journal of American Oriental Society.	TT.	Türk Tarih, Arkeologiya ve Etnografya Dergisi.
Jdi.	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.	UMBS.	University Museum Babylonian Section, Publications, Philadelphia.
JEA.	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.	VAB.	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
JHS.	Journal of Hellenic Studies.	VS.	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler.
JKF.	Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschungen.	WB.	Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens.
JNES.	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.	WZKM.	Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes.
JRAI.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.	YOS.	Yale Oriental Series.
JRAS.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.	ZA.	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
JRIBA.	Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects.	ZDMG.	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
JRS.	Journal of Roman Studies.		
KAR.	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur: religiösen Inhalts.		
KAV.	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur: verschiedenen Inhalts.		

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Printed in Great Britain by Stephen Austin & Sons, Ltd., Caxton Hill, Ware Road, Hertford, Herts.